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THE LOGAN ELM.

Under this tree Logan made his famous speech, October —, 1774. The Boggs monument is shown to the right.

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OHIO

Archæological and Historical

PUBLICATIONS.

Volume VII.

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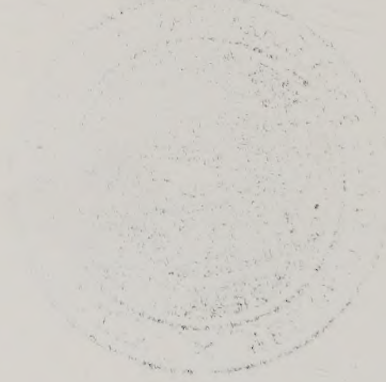

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE seventh volume of the publications of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, which is herewith issued in book form, includes the Quarterlies of the Society heretofore published as No. 1, for October (by error dated November), 1898; No. 2, for January, 1899, and No. 3, for April, 1899.

As these three Quarterlies together comprise sufficient material for a bound volume, the Quarterly for July is not included, and with that Quarterly Volume VIII. will begin.

The contents of this volume are self explanatory.

The annual meeting of the Society has, previous to this (1899) year, been held in February, but at the annual meeting, February 24, 1898, an amendment to the Society's Constitution (see page 282, this volume) was adopted, permitting the holding of the annual meeting not later than June 15. The annual meeting for 1899 was held May 1. As this (VII.) volume only includes the April (1899) Quarterly, the proceedings of the May meeting will appear in Volume VIII.

E. O. RANDALL, *Secretary.*

COLUMBUS, OHIO, AUGUST, 1899.

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OHIO

Archaeological and Historical

PUBLICATIONS.

THE INDIAN TRIBES OF OHIO — HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.

A Preliminary Paper by Warren King Moorehead, Member of the Victoria Institute.

PREFACE.

In looking through a large number of historical and ethnological books recently, I was impressed by the fact that we have no single work devoted exclusively to Ohio Indians, and that the student of the tribes of the Ohio Valley in historic times must peruse numerous volumes and pamphlets in order to gain a comprehensive knowledge of them from 1600 down to 1840. The State Archæological and Historical Society has published much upon archæology and history, but it has not written the record of the Indians and their relations toward each other and toward the whites.

I have thought to assume the preparation of a history of the Ohio Indians, and therefore offer these pages as a preliminary paper, or a condensation of the subject. It is not possible, in fact, to present the matter properly and in such form as its importance demands in less than three or four volumes.

This paper, while a compilation — as all American Indian histories must be — is the result of an endeavor to bring into compact form for the student and general reader, nearly all that

has been written by travelers, historians, captives, ethnologists, missionaries, etc., upon Ohio tribes. I have aimed to select the best and most trustworthy authors. It will be seen that a number of names are omitted from my foot-note references. They may be well known to many readers as writers who are quoted in various popular books.

A number of points (relating to tribes 1600 to 1700) are under discussion among historians and ethnologists and there may be some exceptions taken to a few of my statements. I have tried to submit only facts, or conclusions backed by proper references, and if errors are found, shall stand corrected.

THE INDIAN TRIBES OF OHIO.

History in the Ohio Valley may be properly said to begin with La Salle's expedition of 1667. In that year he discovered and descended the Ohio. In April, 1682, at the mouth of the Mississippi, he claimed all the Mississippi Valley for the French crown, and in the name of Louis XIV took formal possession. In his speech he names the Shawanoes and the Allegheny River in particular. Thus we may assume that he was familiar with both the tribes and the larger streams of the Ohio region.

There is another reference to the region, but whether we can accept it as an absolute historical record remains to be seen.

Sir John Hawkins' expedition of 1586 was disbanded in Nicaragua and some of his sailors made their way north through Mexico and then east across North America to within fifty miles of Cape Breton, where a French fishing vessel picked them up.[1]

Historian Fernow thinks that they passed through the Ohio Valley. If so, they were the first white men to enter that territory. These men published an account of their adventures some years later. Like most of our narratives written by captives and travelers the book is of no value either to historians or ethnologists. They had an opportunity to immortalize themselves, but they seemed to have no intelligent conception of the lands, peoples and languages of their wanderings.

[1] The Ohio Valley in Colonial Days, Berthold Fernow. Albany, 1890. P. 10.

"A Shawanoe chief from the valley of the Ohio, whose following embraced a hundred and fifty warriors, came to ask the protection of the French against the all-destroying Iroquois. 'The Shawanoes are too distant,' was La Salle's reply: 'but let them come to me at the Illinois, and they shall be safe.'"[2] The Shawanoes, to the number of some two hundred or more lodges, did move there and are shown on La Salle's map, 1684.

In 1879 Robert Clarke and Company, of Cincinnati, published "Some Early Notices of the Indians of Ohio", by General M. F. Force. Along with another paper, it contains seventy-five pages and is the best report upon the historic Indians of Ohio that we have. Professor James Mooney of the Bureau of Ethnology, Professor Lucien Carr of the Peabody Museum, Professor Cyrus Thomas of the Smithsonian Institute, Dr. Daniel G. Brinton of the University of Pennsylvania, and many others, have written much upon Algonkin and Iroquoian stocks both of tribes and sub-tribes which once lived in Ohio, or passed through the state while upon their journeys. But I think that Rev. Heckewelder, the famous missionary, and Col. James Smith have given us about the best description of the Ohio tribes; that is, from the standpoint of personal contact. Parkman must not be omitted from the list. A short, but important article entitled, "Early Indian Migration in Ohio", by Judge C. C. Baldwin, appeared in the American Antiquarian of April, 1879, pages 227-239.[3]

The Algonkin stocks seem to have lived in Ohio at a very early period. Dr. Brinton says that they occupied more territory than any other confederacy.[4] They extended over the whole of Newfoundland and into Labrador, down the Atlantic coast, along Hudson Bay, and roamed over the water-shed of

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[2] La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West. Parkman, 1869. Boston. P. 265.

[3] Judge Baldwin, in his article, speaks of a map made by Colonel Charles C. Whittlesey, in which he showed the distribution of the Indian tribes. The Judge's paper was read before the State Archæological Society in September, 1878. Aside from the reprint in the *Antiquarian*, I find no mention of his valuable production among state papers.

[4] The Leni Lenape and their Legends, Brinton, Philadelphia, '85, pages 1 to 22.

the St. Lawrence. The Blackfeet carried their tongue to the Rocky Mountains, while in the Ohio Valley lived the Shawanoes and upon the upper Mississippi the Illinois.

Cabins of logs, villages surrounded by high palisades and cultivated fields characterize these tribes, and place them above those who were merely roving hunters. Dr. Horatio Hale, the eminent Canadian ethnologist, thought that the Cherokees once lived in Ohio — say in the fourteenth century. Dr. Cyrus Thomas is also of the same opinion, but there are others who doubt it.

In 1848 Dr. Albert Gallatin published a map showing the distribution of tribes as his researches led him to locate them for the year 1600. He gives Ohio largely to the Iroquois and places the Eries along the shore of Lake Erie.[5]

In his "Indians of Ohio", Gen. Force states that the Eries were exterminated by the Iroquois (or Five Nations) in 1656, and that for nearly fifty years afterwards Ohio was not inhabited.[6] A tribe may not have made Ohio its permanent home during that period, but surely Gen. Force will not claim that there were no hunting or war parties passing through the state during these years.

Relations des Jesuites, 1654-1658, Quebec, tell us much regarding the Eries, Hurons and Iroquois before guns and other European articles were largely introduced. The Relation for 1648 states that the Eries or Cat Nation are so called because of the presence of a "prodigious number of wildcats, two or three times as large as our tame cats, but having a beautiful and precious fur." The Jesuites state that the war was brought on by the action of an unreasonable young woman. They say that 1200 Iroquois left Onontague and marched to the Cat Nation frontier. The natives all fled to one large town, where they fortified themselves. "The enemy made his approaches. The two principal chiefs, clothed like Frenchmen, displayed themselves, to strike terror by the novelty of this dress. One of them, baptized by father Le Moine, and well instructed, mildly summoned the besieged to surrender to save their destruction which would

[5] Transactions of the American Ethnological Society.

[6] Some Early Notices of the Indians of Ohio.

follow an assault. 'The Master of Life fights for us,' said he; 'you and I are lost if you resist.' 'Who is this master of our lives?' proudly answered the besieged. 'We recognize none but our arms and our hatchets.' Thereupon the assault is begun. The palisade is attacked on all sides and is as well defended as attacked.

"The besiegers tried to carry the place by storm, but in vain; they are killed as fast as they show themselves. They resolved to use their canoes as shields. They carried these in front and thus sheltered they reached the foot of the intrenchment. But it was necessary to clear the great beams or trees of which it was built. They slant their canoes and use them as ladders to mount the great palisade. This boldness so astonished the besieged that, their armament being already exhausted, for their supply was small, especially powder, they thought to retreat and this was their ruin. For the first fugutives being mostly killed, the rest were surrounded by the Iroquois, who entered the fort and made such a carnage of women and children that the blood in some places was knee deep."

The Relation continues that a remnant of the Eries fled and that most captives were burnt by the Iroquois.

The account of Wm. Ketchum in "Buffalo and the Senecas" is different from the above.[7] Because of its interest, I quote it in full.

"The Eries were among the most powerful and warlike of all the Indian tribes. They resided on the south side of the great lake which bears their name, at the foot of which now stands the city of Buffalo; the Indian name for which was Te-osah-wa.

"When the Eries heard of the confederation which had been formed between the Mohawks, (who subsequently resided in the valley of the river of that name) the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas, who also resided for the most part upon the shores and outlets of the lakes bearing their names respectively, (called by the French the Iroquois Nation) they imagined it must be for some mischievous purpose. Although confident of their superiority over any one of the tribes inhabiting

[7] "Buffalo and the Senecas," William Ketchum, Vol. I, Chap. II. Buffalo, '81.

the countries within the bounds of their knowledge, they dreaded the power of such combined forces. In order to satisfy themselves in regard to the character, disposition, and power of those they considered their natural enemies, the Eries resorted to the following means:

"They sent a friendly message to the Senecas, who were their nearest neighbors, inviting them to select one hundred of their most active, athletic young men, to play a game of ball against the same number to be selected by the Eries, for a wager that should be considered worthy the occasion and the character of the great nation in whose behalf the offer was made.

"The message was received and entertained in the most respectful manner. A council of the Five Nations was called, and the proposition fully discussed, and a messenger in due time dispatched with the decision of the council respectfully declining the challenge.

"This emboldened the Eries, and the next year the offer was renewed, and after being again considered, again formally declined.

"This was far from satisfying the proud lords of the 'Great Lake', and the challenge was renewed the third time. The blood of the young Iroquois could no longer be restrained. They importuned the old men to allow them to accept the challenge, and the wise counsels that had hitherto prevailed at last gave way, and the challenge was accepted. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm with which each tribe sent forward its chosen champions for the contest. The only difficulty seemed to be, to make a selection where all were so worthy. After much delay, one hundred of the flower of all the 'Five Nations' were finally designated, and the day for their departure fixed. An experienced chief was chosen as the leader of the party, whose orders the young men were strictly enjoined to obey. A grand council was called, and in the presence of the assembled multitude the party was charged in the most solemn manner to observe a pacific course of conduct towards their competitors, and the nation whose guests they were to become, and to allow no provocation, however great, to be resented by any act of aggression on their part, but in all respects to acquit themselves in a manner

worthy of the representatives of a great and powerful people, anxious to cultivate peace and friendship with their neighbors. Under these injunctions the party took up its line of march for Te-os-ha-wa.

"When the chosen band had arrived in the vicinity of the point of their destination, a messenger was sent forward to notify the Eries of their arrival, and the next day was to be set apart for their grand entree.

"The elegant and athletic forms, the tasteful yet not cumbrous dress, the dignified, noble bearing of their chief, and more than all, the modest demeanor of the young warriors of the Iroquois party, won the admiration of all beholders. They brought no arms. Each bore a bat, used to throw or strike the ball, tastefully ornamented — being a hickory stick about five feet long, bent over at the end, and a thong netting wove into the bow. After a day of refreshment all things were ready for the contest. The chief of the Iroquois brought forward and deposited upon the ground a large pile of costly belts of wampum, beautifully ornamented moccasins, rich beaver robes, and other articles of great value in the eyes of the sons of the forest, as the stake or wager, on the part of his people. These were carefully matched, article by article, by the chief of the Eries, tied together and again deposited in a pile. The game began, and although contested with desperation and great skill by the Eries, was won by the Iroquois, and they bore off the prize in triumph. Thus ended the first day.

"The Iroquois having now accomplished the object of their visit, proposed to take their leave. But the chief of the Eries, addressing himself to the leader said, their young men, though fairly beaten in the game of ball, would not be satisfied unless they could have a foot race, and proposed to match ten of their number against an equal number of the Iroquois party, which was assented to, and the Iroquois were again victorious.

"The Kaw-Kaws, who resided on or near the Eighteen Mile Creek, being present as the friends of the Eries, invited the Iroquois to visit their village before they returned home, and thither the whole company repaired.

"The chief of the Eries, evidently dissatisfied with the result

of the several contests already decided, as a last and final result of the courage and prowess of his guests, proposed to select ten men, to be matched by the same number to be selected from the Iroquois party, to wrestle, and that the victor should dispatch his adversary on the spot by braining him with a tomahawk, and bearing off his scalp as a trophy.

"This sanguinary proposition was not at all pleasing to the Iroquois. They, however, concluded to accept the challenge with a determination — should they be victorious — not to execute the bloody part of the proposition. The champions were accordingly chosen. A Seneca was the first to step into the ring, and threw his adversary amidst the shouts of the multitude. He stepped back and declined to execute his victim, who lay passive at his feet. As quick as thought, the chief of the Eries seized the tomahawk and with a single blow scattered the brains of his vanquished warrior over the ground. His body was dragged out of the way and another champion of the Eries presented himself. He was as quickly thrown by his more powerful antagonist of the Iroquois party, and as quickly dispatched by the infuriated chief of the Eries. A third met the same fate. The chief of the Iroquois party seeing the terrible excitement which agitated the multitude, gave a signal to retreat. Every man obeyed, and in a moment they were out of sight.

"In two hours they arrived at Te-osah-wa, gathered up the trophies of their victories, and were on their way home.

"The visit of the hundred warriors of the Five Nations, and its results, only served to increase the jealousy of the Eries, and to convince them that they had powerful rivals to contend with. It was no part of their policy to cultivate friendship and strengthen their own power by cultivating peace and friendly alliance with other tribes. They knew of no mode of securing peace to themselves, but by exterminating all who opposed them. But the combination of several powerful nations, any one of which might be almost an equal match for them, and of whose personal prowess they had witnessed such an exhibition, inspired the Eries with the most anxious forebodings. To cope with them collectively, they saw was impossible. Their only hope therefore was in being able, by a sudden and vigorous move-

ment, to destroy them in detail. With this view a powerful war party was immediately organized to attack the Senecas, whose principal residence was at the foot of Seneca Lake, near the present site of the village of Geneva. It happened that at this period there resided among the Eries a Seneca woman, who in early life had been taken prisoner, and had married a husband of the Eries. He died and left her a widow without children, a stranger among strangers. Seeing the terrible note of preparation for a bloody onslaught upon her kindred and friends, she formed the resolution of apprising them of their danger.

"As soon as night set in, taking the course of the Niagara river, she traveled all night, and early next morning reached the shore of Lake Ontario. She jumped into a canoe she found fastened to a tree and boldly pushed out into the open lake. Coasting down the south shore of the lake, she arrived at Oswego river in the night, near which a large settlement of her nation resided. She directed her steps to the house of the head chief and disclosed to him the object of her visit. She was secreted by the chief, and runners were dispatched to all the tribes, summoning them to meet in council immediately.

* * * *

"No time was to be lost, delay might be fatal. A body of five thousand warriors was formed, with a corps of reserve of one thousand young men who had never been in battle. The bravest chiefs from all the tribes were put in command, and spies immediately sent out in search of the enemy; the whole body taking up a line of march in the direction from whence they expected an attack.

"The advance of the war party was continued for several days, passing through successively the settlements of their friends, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. But they had scarcely passed the last wigwam near the foot of Can-an-da-gua lake, when their scouts brought in intelligence of the advance of the Eries, who had already crossed the Chinissee-o (Genesee) river in large force.

"The Eries had not the slightest suspicion of the approach of their enemies. They relied upon the secrecy and celerity of

their movements to surprise and subdue the Senecas almost without resistance.

"The two parties met about midway between Canandaigua lake and the Genesee river, and near the outlet of two small lakes, near the foot of one of which (the Honeyoye) the battle was fought. When the two parties came in sight of each other, the outlet of the lake only intervened between them. The entire force of the Iroquois was not in view of the Eries. The reserve corps of one thousand young men had not been allowed to advance in sight of the enemy. Nothing could exceed the impetuosity of the Eries at the first sight of an opposing force on the opposite side of the stream. They rushed through it and fell upon them with tremendous fury.

"Notwithstanding the undaunted courage and determined bravery of the Iroquois warriors, they could not withstand such a terrible onslaught, and they were compelled to yield the ground on the bank of the stream. The whole force of the Iroquois, except the corps of reserve, now became engaged; they fought hand to hand and foot to foot; the battle raged horribly, no quarter was asked or given on either side. As the fight thickened and became more and more desperate, the Eries, for the first time became sensible of their true situation. What they had long anticipated had become a fearful reality. *Their enemies had combined for their destruction,* and they now found themselves engaged suddenly and unexpectedly in a fearful struggle, which involved not only their glory, but the very *existence* of their nation. They were proud, and had hitherto been victorious over all their enemies. Their power was felt and their superiority acknowledged by all the surrounding tribes. They knew how to *conquer*, but not to *yield*. All these considerations flashed upon the minds of the bold Eries, and nerved every man with almost superhuman power.

"On the other hand, the united forces of the weaker tribes, now made strong by union, fired by a spirit of emulation, excited to the highest pitch among the warriors of the different tribes, brought for the first time to act in concert; inspired with zeal and confidence by the counsel of the wisest chiefs, and led on

by the most experienced warriors of all the tribes, the Iroquois were *invincible.*

"Though staggered at the first desperate onslaught of the Eries, the Iroquois soon rallied and made a stand, and now the din of battle rises higher and higher; the war club, the tomahawk and the scalping knife, wielded by herculean arms, do terrible deeds of death.

"During the hottest of the battle, which was fierce and long, the corps of reserve consisting of one thousand young men, were by a skillful movement under their experienced chief and leader, placed in rear of the Eries on the opposite side of the stream in ambush.

"The Eries had been driven seven times across the stream, and had as often regained their ground, but the eighth time, at a given signal from their leader, the corps of reserve in ambush rushed upon the almost exhausted Eries with a tremendous yell, and at once decided the fortunes of the day. Hundreds disdaining to fly, were struck down by the war clubs of the vigorous young warriors, whose thirst for the blood of the enemy knew no bounds.

"Tradition adds that many years after, a powerful war party of the descendants of the Eries came from beyond the Mississippi, ascended the Ohio river, crossed the country, and attacked the Senecas. A great battle was fought near this city, in which the Eries were again defeated and slain to a man, and their bodies were burned and the ashes buried in a mound which is still visible near the old Indian Mission Church, a monument of the indomitable courage of the terrible Eries, and their brave conquerors, the Senecas."

And of these Eries, strange, interesting folk — one of the earliest tribes of which we have history — we have no detail. One authority says they are Algonkin, another denies the proposition. They perished in the dawn of Ohio history, and we must now turn from them to other and better known tribes of men.

The Shawanoes are more closely interwoven with Ohio's history than any other nation. They produced two of the

greatest men of the red race, Tecumtha[8] and Cornstalk. They were the implacable foes of the white race. The Shawanoes never mustered more than three hundred warriors, yet they defeated our troops in more than twenty engagements. The story of their life is written in blood; yet it is a record for which there is ample justification. They were the real warriors, the dictators, the backbone of all Indian wars in the Ohio Valley, and upon them fell the brunt of nearly every battle, and they withstood the shock and tumult of conflict, brave men that they were. I look over the pages of Indian history and see there the names of the Shawanoes standing forth above all other names. Wrongs and outrages unparalleled did they suffer. They paid back the debt with interest, and all men of spirit irrespective of color or culture-state would have done the same.

Gen. Force says that the Shawanoes first occur in history about the year 1660, living along the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers. After reviewing much that has been published about them, Dr. Thomas says:[9]

"As Parkman has observed, this tribe (the Shawanoes) presents one of the most puzzling problems of our early history. But there is one fact apparently not properly appreciated which should dispel much of the mystery of its movements and correct the idea entertained in regard to its nomadic character.

"If we bear in mind the central position of the Shawnees, the region of Kentucky and middle Tennessee, it can readily be understood why notices of them appear in the records of early days in so many different quarters. The French, moving west along the line of the lakes and south along the Illinois and Mississippi, hear of them by contact with wandering parties or through intermediate tribes. And the same is true in regard to travelers and early settlers east and south. Information concerning them at so many widely different points has naturally suggested the opinion that they were true nomads. Another reason for this opinion is the fact that about the time they be-

[8] On the authority of the Bureau of Ethnology, this being the correct spelling and pronunciation.

[9] American Anthropologist, Vol. IV, p. 260, July, 1891. The Shawanoes in Pre-Columbian Times.

came generally known to the colonists, they were attacked and broken into scattering bands by other tribes.

"Theories in regard to the early home of the tribe have been advanced which, in view of more recent light, have been generally discarded as untenable. One of these theories is that they are to be identified with the Massawomekes of Captain John Smith's 'History of Virginia', whom he states he encountered at the head of Chesapeake Bay. In order to sustain this theory it is assumed that the Massawomekes of Smith are identical with the Eries or Cat Nation of the French, mentioned by the early writers and explorers as dwelling immediately south of Lake Erie. As it is now conceded that this nation was linguistically related to the Iroquois, while the Shawnees belong to the Algonquian stock, this theory seems to be without sufficient basis.

* * * *

"There are reasons for believing that the residence of this people in Ohio in historic times was not their first appearance north of the Ohio river; a belief which seems to be entertained by Judge C. C. Baldwin, and, as I learn from personal communication, by Mr. Lucien Carr, both of whom have given the historical side of the question a somewhat careful examination.

"When in 1669 Abbe Gallinee requested of the Senecas a prisoner from the Ohio to guide La Salle on his intended journey to that river, the people living there, according to their statement, were called Toagenha. The Indians, in order to dissuade the French from their intended journey, told them the Toagenha were bad people, who would treacherously attack them at night, and that they would also run the risk before reaching them of meeting the Ontastois. As the latter tribe was, beyond doubt, the Andastes, there are good reasons for believing that the former were Shawnees. Marshall, in his 'La Salle and the Senecas', adds that the Toagenha were 'a people speaking a corrupt Algonkin.'

"As bearing up on the question, it may be added that, according to Shea, the Wyandottes called the Shawnees Ontonagannha. In 1675 Garacontie, an Onondaga chief, told his

people to live in peace with the French and turn their arms against the distant Ontwogannha.[10]

"There is, however, in the Relation of Abbe Gallinee (1669-'70), as given by Margry,[11] another statement that refers beyond doubt to the Shawnees and indicates the locality of a part of the tribe at that time. Speaking of the commencement of his journey to the southwest and the reason for it, he remarks: 'Our fleet consisted of seven canoes, each manned by three men, which departed from Montreal the sixth day of July, 1669, under the guidance of two canoes of Iroquois Sonnontoueronons (Senecas), who had come to Montreal in the autumn of the year 1668 to do their hunting and trading. These people had lived here quite a long while with M. de la Salle, and had told him so many marvellous things concerning the Ohio river, which they claimed to be perfectly acquainted with, that they excited in him more than ever the desire to visit it. They told him that this river had its source three days' journey from Sonontouan, and that after a month's travel he would reach the Honniasontkeronons (probably Andastes) and the Chiouanons (Shawnees), and that after having passed these and a great waterfall, which there was in the river, he would find the Outagame and the country of the Iskousogos (probably Chickasaws), and finally a country so abounding in deer and wild cattle that they were as thick as the woods, and such great numbers of people that there could be no more.'"

After the year 1750 we continuously hear of the Shawanoes in Ohio.

The great Iroquois (Five Nations, and later, Six Nations) cannot be said to have had many villages in Ohio in historic times. In fact, they entered the territory of the peaceful Algonkins solely by conquest for they were totally dissimilar in language and customs. The great physical difference between the Algonkin and Iroquoian people lies in that the crania of the former are brachycephalic and of the latter dolicocephalic. Their

[10] Shea, Catholic Missions, 1855.

[11] Decouvertes, Pt. I, 116, 1875.

famous league was formed in the middle of the fifteenth century.[12] The main villages and government remained in western and central New York state, but small bands of Wyandots and Tuscaroras and Conestogas and Cayugas and Mingoes roamed about Ohio or located villages of considerable size where their fancy directed.

The Cherokees were some time upon the headwaters of the Ohio. The Bureau of Ethnology now connects them with the Iroquois. The Kickapoos, Miamis, Wabash, Hurons, Chippewas, Ottawas, Ojibeways, etc., may have been in Ohio some time, or attended councils, or sent out war or hunting parties. With the exception of the Miamis, and possibly one or two others, none of them can be said to have lived here for any length of time.

The conditions existing in Ohio two hundred years ago can scarcely be appreciated by those of us who live in this modern age — this period of rush and strife, of struggle after wealth and power. To begin with, the streams presented an almost even stage of water throughout the year. The timber was not cut, swamps were not drained, there were no dams, no canals, no utilization of water-power. The streams were half choked (save in the deepest part of the channel) by logs, trees and drift. Innumerable small pools and swamps in the woods also held water. These discharged into sluggish creeks and rivers, and they, in turn, into the great waterways. It was possible to go in large canoes to the lake or come from thence to the Ohio at any season of the year. The Scioto, Muskingum and Great Miami were the favorite routes, the Scioto being the most traveled.

Captive James Smith, in 1754, went to the lake by way of the West Branch of the Muskingum (Walhonding) in a large canoe with a number of Indians. The trip could not be made today in the lightest canvas canoe save at high water stage. Mr. Ketchum speaks of this in his volumes. He also calls attention to the prairies of Ohio and New York. I shall quote from him again.[13]

[12] L. H. Morgan, an authority upon the Iroquois. Also "The Iroquois Book of Rites," Horatio Hale, Philadelphia, '83.

[13] "Buffalo and the Senecas," William Ketchum, Vol. I, Chap. III, p. 16.

"The arrival and permanent settlement of Europeans on this continent, seriously affected not only the aboriginal inhabitants, their habits, modes of thought, and of action, but also wrought a great change in the face of the country, particularly in our own state. The earliest records and observations of those who visited the coasts of New England, before any permanent settlement of Europeans was made, represent the country for the most part as an open prairie — produced by the periodical burning over of immense tracts of country by the native inhabitants — and this was a custom persisted in from time immemorial. The reason assigned for this by Thomas Morton, in 1636, was, that it was for the purpose of keeping down the growth of trees, shrubs, vines and vegetation, which would otherwise grow so rank as to become impenetrable and obstruct the vision as well as the passage through it. But subsequent observation assigned a better and more probable reason for these periodical burnings. The inhabitants subsisted almost entirely by the chase; agriculture as a means of subsistence was entirely unknown to them. They lived almost entirely upon fish, and the flesh of animals they were able to kill by the means they then employed, which would now be considered very inadequate to accomplish the purposes designed. They found it necessary to adopt some method to entice the graminivorous animals into the vicinity of their settlements, and by burning the dried vegetation every spring, they not only kept down the growth of timber and shrubs, but stimulated the growth of a tender nutritious grass, eagerly sought for by the deer, the elk, the moose, and the buffalo. These not only sought the luxuriant pastures for food, but they soon learned that these open plains afforded protection against their enemies of the carnivorous race of animals which prey upon them. These stealthy marauders of the feline and canine species, exercised their vocation in the dense forests, or in the darkness of the night. They seldom ventured into the open plain; hence the harmless, defenceless animals which furnished food for man, roamed almost unmolested over the grassy plains kept in perennial verdure by his superior sagacity.

"All the regions of country which are usually denominated 'oak openings' are to be considered as once open prairies, like

the vast prairies of the West, whose origin is to be ascribed to the same cause. These prairies extended over a great portion of what is now New England, a large portion of the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, etc. A large portion of Upper Canada, particularly that part of it bounded by the lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, may also be included in the once prairie region, for it will be observed that 'oak openings' prevail to a large extent in all the territory named. What are called the plains in our vicinity, are a striking example of the change which has taken place within less than two hundred years."

As to game in Ohio, little need be said. There were elk, deer, bear, buffalo, turkeys and all kinds of birds and small quadrupeds in abundance; the streams swarmed with fish. All accounts agree as to the profusion of animal life. Col. May, in 1788, said:

"I am of the opinion that deer are plentier in this country than horned cattle are in New England."[14]

James Smith, writing of 1755-1759, says that all kinds of game, wild fruits, succulent roots, etc., abounded in inexhaustible quantities.[15]

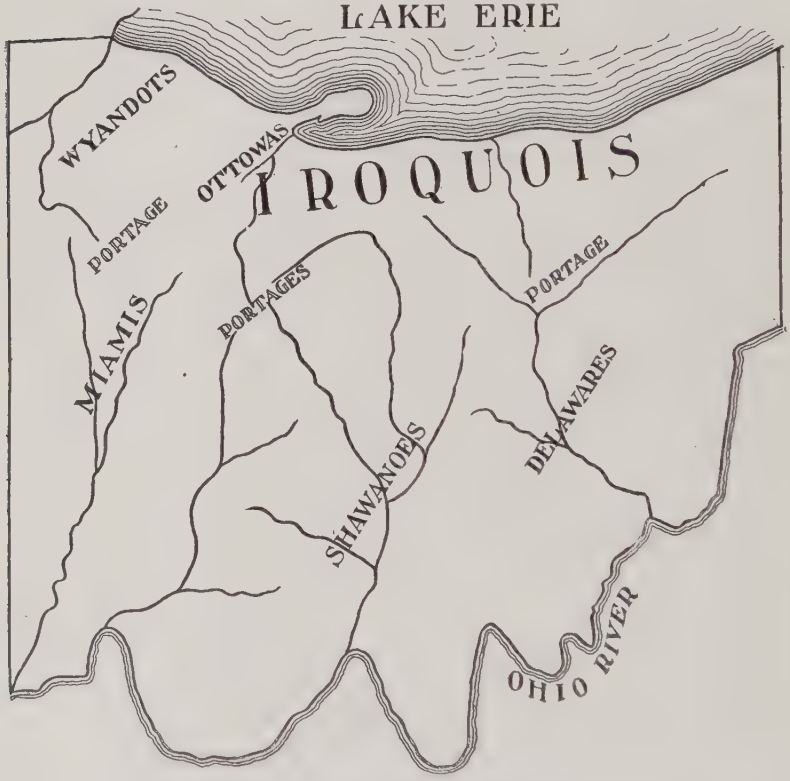
Professor Lucien Carr in "The Food of Certain American Indians", mentions maize as being prepared in more than thirty ways each of which had an individual name.[16] There were several varieties found by the whites in Ohio upon their arrival and they differed in size and hardness of grain, in length of ear and in time required to ripen. Beans, pumpkins, tobacco and sweet potatoes were cultivated. Wild potatoes and wild rice were gathered in quantities and stored for winter use; also hickorynuts, walnuts and all other nuts, red and black haws, pawpaws, strawberries, blackberries, etc., maple sugar, plums, persimmons,

[14] Colonel May's Journey, 1788-9, Marietta, O. Robt. Clarke, Cincinnati.

[15] An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Colonel James Smith, 1755'59. Reprinted by Robt. Clarke Co., Cincinnati, 1870.

[16] Report of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1895, Lucien Carr.

grapes and various barks and lichens, mussels from the streams and other foods which we would not esteem. Of wild honey and bears oil they had an abundance, and from walnuts they extracted a rich oil. Thus we see that the Ohio tribes were highly favored by nature.



Distribution of Ohio Tribes in the Year 1740.

It is not necessary to prepare a map of tribal distributions in 1600. The Miamis occupied the western or northwestern part of the state and the Eries the southern shore of Lake Erie. Roving bands of Shawanoes ranged north of the Ohio river. 1740 found several tribes in Ohio, and I have prepared a rough map showing their location. Boundaries of aboriginal peoples' territory cannot be accurately established. This partly explains

the rude nature of my map. I have exaggerated some of the streams in order to clearly show the portages. In early times our rivers and creeks carried a more even volume of water through the year, and it was comparatively easy to pass from the Ohio to Lake Erie by canoe. The large letters IROQUOIS, are made to include Catawbas, Senecas, etc., who had small villages in the northern and northeastern portion of Ohio.

Our detailed history of the Ohio region begins with 1740. Mr. Fernow in "The Ohio Valley in Colonial Days", gives us much information, and I will say that his volume afforded suggestions for portions of this paper.[17]

When the French and Indian war broke out the Ohio Indians sided mostly with the French. In fact, nearly all the tribes of the Colonies, the Northwest and Canada were friendly to the French, and it was only after large presents that the English were able to win over any considerable bodies of natives. There is reason for this preference on the part of the Indians. Frenchmen understood Indian character; they seemed to take naturally to savage life. They were in close touch with the red men and there was much in common in the two temperaments, both being excitable and changeable. French *coureurs de bois* penetrated to the remotest corners of Ohio and elsewhere long before Englishmen had reached the western slope of the Alleghenies.[18]

The French lived with the Indians; they sympathized with them, they gave them many gifts. Most of captives' narratives and many of the histories refer to this love for the French. Nothing so prejudices an Indian as miserly habits and a withholding hand. Hence natives had no use whatsoever for the Dutch ,and but little for the people of the United States during and after the Revolution. Baron La Hontan speaks for Frenchmen of high or low degree when he writes, "The manners of the savages are perfectly agreeable to my palate."

There has been much written regarding the origin of the

[17] "The Ohio Valley in Colonial Days," Berthold Fernow. Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, 1890, No. 17 of Munsell's Historical Series.

[18] Read Parkman, "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West," also "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," to obtain a full account of French influences. Little, Brown & Co., publishers, Boston.

French and Indian war. Man's avarice caused it. Both French and English sought to control the fur trade; they established rival posts in the Ohio Valley, and war was a natural result. The French raided the New York and New England settlements, they arrested such English traders as entered the Ohio country; they persuaded the Indians to make war upon the English frontier.

"In 1749 La Jonquire, the governor of Canada, learned, to his great indignation, that several English traders had reached Sandusky, and were exerting a bad influence upon the Indians of that quarter; and two years later, he caused four of the intruders to be seized near the Ohio and sent prisoners to Canada."[19]

In 1748 the Ohio Company of Massachusetts was formed, and in 1750 Christopher Gist was sent out to survey the river as far as the Ohio Falls (Louisville). Gist accomplished his task and reported to his superiors. In the spring of 1753 the French established several posts upon the Ohio and the Lake (Erie). Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, sent George Washington to demand that the French remove from British territory. We are all familiar with this, Washington's first service, and it need only be said that the French received him politely, but refused to relinquish the Ohio Valley. Following upon this unsuccessful mission were the campaigns of Trent and Washington in the spring of 1754. They also were failures.

Parkman says:[20] "While the rival nations were beginning to quarrel for a prize which belonged to neither of them, the unhappy Indians saw, with alarm and amazement, their lands becoming a bone of contention between rapacious strangers.

* * * *

"Thus placed between two fires they knew not which way to turn. Their native jealousy was roused to its utmost pitch. Many of them thought that the two white nations had conspired to destroy them and then divide their lands, 'You and the French', said one of them, a few years afterwards, to an English

[19] The Conspiracy of Pontiac, Vol. I, p. 72.
[20] Conspiracy of Pontiac. Vol. I, p. 100.

emissary, 'are like the two edges of a pair of shears, and we are the cloth which is cut to pieces between them.' "[21]

While this storm was gathering, there was a famous Ottawa, Pontiac by name, whose messengers were carrying communications to the Ohio tribes. Cornstalk the Shawano and Logan the Mingo were both young men, but there is every reason to suppose that they received their "baptism of fire" in this French-Indian war.

Scruniyattha, the Half King or head chief of the Wyandots had been friendly to the English. In fact, nearly all the Iroquois were inclined towards the British interests; but the more numerous Algonkin tribes favored French supremacy.

The spring of 1755 witnessed unusual activities upon the frontier. Fort Duquesne, on the present site of Pittsburg, being well garrisoned, seemed to indicate a permanent French occupation of the Ohio territory. Communication between Duquesne and Canada was continuous and large quantities of guns, powder, lead, knives, blankets, household and farming implements, beads, paint, bells, gloves, scissors, etc., were imported to both give and sell to the Ohio Indians. As a natural result of murders committed by whites along the Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers, the Indians were incited to hostility against the English. The munificence with which the French distributed those articles I have enumerated confirmed the Indians in their allegiance to France.

It is not necessary to narrate Braddock's famous march, his death, the disaster which overwhelmed him, the conduct of Washington, etc. All this ground has been frequently covered. There were some Ohio Indians in the fight and they returned to the Scioto, Muskingum, Ohio and lake villages, exhibiting bloody trophies and arms and clothing.

James Smith, in his famous book, gives us side-lights on the events following Braddock's defeat.[22] Smith was a captive in Fort Duquesne when the victorious Indians and French came in

[21] First Journal of C. F. Post.

[22] An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Colonel James Smith. Cincinnati, Robert Clarke & Co., 1870, reprint.

from the field. He was immediately taken to Tullihas on the Walhonding, twenty miles above Coshocton, in Newcastle township. It was inhabited by Delawares, Caughnewagas and Mohicans. He passed through a regular adoption into the Caughnewagas tribe, a branch of the Iroquois. There were two chiefs, Tecauyaterighto, called Pluggy, and Asallecoe, called Mohawk Solomon. This Tecauyaterighto was a very famous warrior and defeated the whites in several engagements.

In Smith's hunting excursions he traveled pretty generally over the state. His report is of great value, for Smith was a very intelligent observer. Of the Licking Reservoir — which was a lake and swamp originally — he says:[23]

"We then moved to the buffaloe lick, where we killed several buffaloe, and in their small brass kettles they made about half a bushel of salt. I suppose this lick was about thirty or forty miles from the aforesaid town (Tullihas) and somewhere between the Muskingum, Ohio and Sciota. About the lick was clear, open woods, and thin white-oak land, and at that time there were large roads leading to the lick, like wagon roads. We moved from this lick about six or seven miles, and encamped on a creek."

It may have been Jonathan's creek, several miles south of the reservoir, or it may have been one of the branches of the Licking river upon which Smith's party encamped.

The main trail from Duquesne passed the lake and swamp now known as the Licking Reservoir. Many parties and individuals had traversed it. Christopher Gist encamped there January 17, 1751.

Smith thinks that the Indians with whom he lived had reason to fear an attack for he says:

"I had observed before this that the Indians were upon their guard, and afraid of an enemy; for, until now they and the Southern nations had been at war."

In October Pluggy and party returned from an expedition against the South Branch of the Potomac settlers. Smith reports that many prisoners and scalps were brought along.

[23] Remarkable Occurrences, etc. Page 21. This was in 1755, summer.

In the fall his captors took him up the Walhonding and Mohican, then up the Black Fork to the "carrying-place" or portage in Ashland county (northern). There they struck the head waters of the Black river (Canesadooharie) and descended that to the lake. The Wyandots had a village here.

Upon reaching the Wyandot town, (about two miles from the present site of Sandusky) called Sunyendeand, they bought new clothes, paint, tobacco, etc., of the French traders there located. While here several old Indians engaged Smith in conversation.[24] "The two old Indians asked me if I did not think the Indians and French would subdue all America, except New England, which they had tried in old times. * * * They said they had already drove them all out of the mountains, and had chiefly laid waste the great valley betwixt the North and South mountain, from Potomac to James river, which is a considerable part of the best land in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. * * * They asked me to offer my reasons for my opinion, and told me to speak my mind freely. I found that the old men themselves did not believe they could conquer America, yet they were willing to propagate the idea, in order to encourage the young men to go to war."

A large war party was made up at Sunyendeand and sent against the frontiers. They returned with scalps, prisoners and plunder. These prisoners were well treated, according to Smith's account. By the narratives of those who were with the Indians for any length of time, we learn that prisoners were humanely treated. The adoption rites may have been severe, but once received into the tribe a prisoner was treated with kindness and consideration. After 1790 this could not be affirmed of Ohio tribes.

In October, 1756, he left the town and went hunting with Tecaughretanego, a Caughenewaga chief. This man, and also Tontileaugo, were two characters — noble ones — of whom we know nothing save through Smith's narrative. I think that either one will favorably compare with any of the great aborigines known to history. During Smith's various hunting excursions he went up the Tuscarawas, made a portage of eight miles

[24] Remarkable Occurrences, etc. James Smith, p. 47.

and struck the Cuyahoga in Summit county, Portage and Coventry townships. He also went up the Sandusky, made a short portage and struck various sloughs which enabled him to reach the real Olentangy — now Big Darby — and proceed down that stream to the Scioto. We have so changed surface conditions by the destruction of our forests that the same routes traversed by Smith could not be run today save during a brief period of spring floods. A person starting in a canvas canoe from Portsmouth could not ascend the Scioto even as far as Columbus unless he dragged his boat over innumerable riffles. Yet Smith traveled this and other streams in large canoes capable of carrying many persons.

He speaks of French traders, in the spring of 1757, being in a Wyandot town opposite Fort Detroit and that these traders gave them much brandy. Smith was elected one of those who stayed sober and whose duties were to conceal all arms so that the intoxicated braves might be prevented from injuring each other.

"About the first of June, 1757, the warriors were preparing to go to war, in the Wiandot, Pottawatomie and Ottawa towns; also a great many Jibewas came down from the upper lakes; and after singing their war songs and going through their common ceremonies, they marched off against the frontiers of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania singing the traveling song, slow firing, etc."[25]

This man Tecaughretanego was opposed to the war and his sound sense and judgment is shown in his remarks to Smith. "He had all along been against this war, and had strenuously opposed it in council. He said if the English and French had a quarrel let them fight their own battles themselves; it is not our business to meddle therewith."[26] If all Indians had pursued this policy the Ohio tribes might be in existence today.

Space does not permit my enlarging upon the truly remarkable philosophy of Tecaughretanego. But I will quote some of Smith's remarks upon the subject. They were in camp some forty miles from any other hunter's habitations, and sixty miles

[25] Remarkable Occurrences, etc. Smith, p. 78.
[26] Remarkable Occurrences, etc.

from a village. They had been long without sufficient food, for the old Indian's rheumatism prevented his hunting. Smith failed in his efforts to secure game because of a heavy, crusted snow which lay upon the ground for many days, and in which his footsteps made a loud noise. One evening Smith returned faint and weary. Tecaughretanego's little son had gathered such wildcat bones as lay about the camp and prepared a thin soup of which they partook.

"He said the reason why he deferred his speech until now was because few men are in right humor to hear good talk when they are extremely hungry, as they are generally fretful and discomposed; as you appear now to enjoy calmness and serenity of mind, I will now communicate to you the thoughts of my heart and those things that I know to be true.

'"Brother, as you have lived with the white people and you have not had the same advantage of knowing that the Great Being above feeds his people and gives them their meat in due season as we Indians have, who are frequently out of provisions and yet are wonderfully supplied, and that so frequently that it is evidently the hand of the great Owaneeyo that doth this: whereas the white people have commonly large flocks of tame cattle that they can kill when they please, and also their barns and cribs filled with grain, and therefore have not the same opportunity of seeing and knowing that they are supported by the ruler of heaven and earth.

'"Brother, I know that you are now afraid that we will all perish with hunger, but you can have no just reason to fear this.

'"Brother, I have been young, but now I am old — I have been frequently under the like circumstances that we now are, and that sometime or other in almost every year of my life; yet, I have hitherto been supported and my wants supplied in time of need.

'"Brother, Owaneeyo sometimes suffers us to be in want in order to teach us our dependence upon him and to let us know that we are to love and serve him; and likewise to know the worth of the favors that we receive, and to make us more thankful.

'"Brother, be assured that you will be supplied with food

and that just in the right time; but you must continue diligently in the use of means — go to sleep and rise early in the morning and go hunting — be strong and exert yourself like a man, and the Great Spirit will direct your ways.'"

Smith set out the next day. Being unable to get game he made up his mind to flee to the settlements. While traveling east during the afternoon he came upon buffalo and succeeded in killing a cow. After he had satisfied himself he became heartily ashamed of his conduct in leaving the venerable old man and little boy to perish of hunger. Accordingly, he scaffolded up the meat out of reach of wolves, and returned with a load to camp. When they had refreshed themselves the primitive philosopher delivered a speech or sermon upon gratitude, dependence upon the Creator and kindred subjects.

In July, 1758, many tribes which had gathered at Detroit marched to Fort Duquesne to intercept Generals Forbes and Grant. Readers are familiar with the English account of the taking of Duquesne. But Smith gives us the Indian side of the affair. He says the Indians claimed they would treat Forbes and Grant as they did Braddock. Frequent accounts of Forbes' progress were brought to the Ohio and Detroit camps by runners. They were well posted as to his army, its condition and movements. Col. Grant and his Highlanders succeeded in gaining a hill some two hundred yards from Fort Duquesne. As they obtained possession during the night, neither the French nor the Indians knew that he was there until daylight, "when drums were beat and bag-pipes played upon."

"They then flew to arms, and the Indians ran up under cover of the banks of Allegheny and Monongahela for some distance and then sallied out from the banks of the river and took possession of a hill above Grant; he was on the point of it in sight of the fort. They immediately surrounded him, and as he had his Highlanders in ranks in very close order, and the Indians scattered and concealed behind trees, they defeated him with a loss of only a few warriors; — most of the Highlanders were killed or taken prisoners."

The French endeavored to make the Indians stay and meet Forbes, but as it was hard for them to leave their squaws at this

season of the year, the greater part of them went home. Some remained and joined the French in an attack upon Forbes. They were defeated and Forbes entered the valley and took possession of the defences, which he re-named, calling them Fort Pitt. The Indians said that the troops were now learning how to fight, that many Virginians accompanied them and taking trees they severely galled the red men. They could subdue the red-coats, they told Smith, but they could not withstand Ashalecoa, or Great Knife, as they called the Virginians.

In July, 1759, Smith deserted the Indians and returned to his own people. Some idea of his appearance can be had from his own statement, "They (his relatives) received me with great joy, but were surprised to see me so much like an Indian, both in my gait and gesture."

I have introduced much of Smith's matter largely because (as Parkman says) his narrative is our best account of captivity among the Ohio tribes. The perusal of his quaint, peculiar and interesting book carries one back to the streams, lakes, woods and open glades of nearly a century and a half ago. It is a breath of real nature, a glimpse of true simplicity of life. There were hardships, but there were pleasures; there were few vices and many virtues. Our bustling commercial cities of today are, in many instances, built over those villages of the historic Indian period, and multitudes of the race against whom Smith's Indians fought tramp unceasingly over forgotten graves. A little more of this life of the woods might better our selfish, worldly, business constitutions of today. Pitiable indeed is he in whose nature there is nothing in common with the spirit of the forest, and of the stream and of the field.

Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson was a champion of the American race if there ever lived one. She was prompted to write "A Century of Dishonor", from the standpoint of a humanitarian, but it is also a historical monument to her labors. I will say personally, that both among the Sioux and the Navajos I have heard of her work. The Indian Rights Association and all movements toward protecting the Indian against fraud are indebted to her, and the race itself can never repay her for her noble interest in its welfare.

In chapter two of her book, she speaks of the Delawares. These Indians had made a treaty with Penn and for many years kept constant peace with the whites, although often given great provocation to take up the hatchet.

At Fort M'Intosh, in 1785, a treaty was made with the Delawares in which the whites assumed to restore Chief Wicocalind, who had been deposed, to his tribal rank. I will quote Mrs. Jackson upon these points in full.

"The Wyandots, Chippewas, and Ottawas as well as the Delawares, joined in it. They acknowledged themselves and all their tribes to be 'under the protection of the United States, and of no other sovereign whatsoever.' The United States Government reserved 'the post of Detroit' and an outlying district around it; also the post at Michilmackinac, with a surrounding district of twelve miles square, and some other reserves for trading posts.

"The Indians' lands were comprised within lines partly indicated by the Cuyahoga, Big Miami and Ohio rivers and their branches; it fronted on Lake Erie; and if 'any citizen of the United States', or 'any other person not an Indian', attempted 'to settle on any of the lands allotted to the Delaware and Wyandotte nations in this treaty' — the Fifth Article of the treaty said — 'the Indians may punish him as they please.'

"Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, all are largely made up of the lands which were by this first treaty given to the Indians.

"Five years later, by another treaty at Fort Harmar, the provisions of this treaty were reiterated, the boundaries somewhat changed and more accurately defined. The privilege of hunting on all the lands reserved to the United States was promised to the Indians 'without hindrance or molestation, so long as they behaved themselves peaceably'; and 'that nothing may interrupt the peace and harmony now established between the United States and the aforesaid nations', it was promised in one of the articles that white men commiting offences or murders on Indians should be punished in the same way as Indians committing such offences.

"The year before this treaty Congress had resolved that 'the

sum of $20,000, in addition to the $14,000 already appropriated, be appropriated for defraying the expenses of the treaties which have been ordered, or which may be ordered to be held, in the present year, with the several Indian tribes in the Northern Department; and for extinguishing the Indian claims to the lands they have already ceded to the United States by obtaining regular conveyances for the same, and for extending a purchase beyond the limits hitherto fixed by the treaty.'

"Here is one of the earliest records of the principle and method on which the United States Government first began its dealings with the Indians. 'Regular conveyances', 'extinguishing claims' by 'extending purchase.' These are all the strictest of legal terms, and admit of no double interpretations.

"The Indians had been much dissatisfied ever since the first treaties were made. They claimed that they had been made by a few only, representing a part of the tribe; and in 1786 they had held a great council on the banks of the Detroit river, and sent a message to Congress, of which the following extracts will show the spirit.

"They said: 'It is now more than three years since peace was made between the king of Great Britain and you; but we, the Indians, were disappointed, finding ourselves not included in that peace according to our expectations, for we thought that its conclusion would have promoted a friendship between the United States and the Indians, and that we might enjoy that happiness that formerly subsisted between us and our Elder Brethren. We have received two very agreeable messages from the Thirteen United States. We also received a message from the king, whose war we were engaged in, desiring us to remain quiet, which we accordingly complied with. During this time of tranquillity we were deliberating the best method we could to form a lasting reconciliation with the Thirteen United States. We are still of the same opinion as to the means which may tend to reconcile us to each other; and we are sorry to find, although we had the best thoughts in our minds during the beforementioned period, mischief has nevertheless happened between you and us. We are still anxious of putting our plan of accommodation into execution, and we shall briefly inform you the means that seem most

probable to us of effecting a firm and lasting peace and reconciliation, the first step toward which should, in our opinion, be that all treaties carried on with the United States on our parts should be with the general will of the whole confederacy, and carried on in the most open manner, without any restraint on either side; and especially as landed matters are often the subject of our councils with you — a matter of the greatest importance and of general concern to us — in this case we hold it indisputably necessary that any cession of our lands should be made in the most public manner, and by the united voice of the confederacy, holding all partial treaties as void and of no effect. We say, let us meet half way, and let us pursue such steps as become upright and honest men. We beg that you will prevent your surveyors and other people from coming upon our side of the Ohio river.'

"These are touching words, when we remember that only the year before the United States had expressly told these Indians that if any white citizens attempted to settle on their lands they might 'punish them as they pleased.'

"'We have told you before we wished to pursue just steps, and we are determined they shall appear just and reasonable in the eyes of the world. This is the determination of all the chiefs of our confederacy now assembled here, notwithstanding the accidents that have happened in our villages, even when in council, where several innocent chiefs were killed, when absolutely engaged in promoting a peace with you, the Thirteen United States.'

"The next year the President instructed the Governor of the territory northwest of the Ohio to 'examine carefully into the real temper of the Indian tribes' in his department, and says: 'The treaties which have been made may be examined, but must not be departed from, unless a change of boundary beneficial to the United States can be obtained.' He says also: 'You will not neglect any opportunity that may offer of extinguishing the Indian rights to the westward, *as far as the Mississippi.*'

"Beyond that river even the wildest dream of greed did not at that time look.

"The President adds, moreover: 'You may stipulate that any white person going over said boundaries without a license

from the proper officers of the United States may be treated in such manner as the Indians may see fit.'

"I have not yet seen in any accounts of the Indian hostilities on the northwestern frontier during this period, any reference to those repeated permissions given by the United States to the Indians, to defend their lands as they saw fit. Probably the greater number of the pioneer settlers were as ignorant of these provisions in Indian treaties as are the greater number of American citizens today, who are honestly unaware, and being unaware are therefore incredulous, that the Indians had either provocation or right to kill intruders on their lands.

"At this time separate treaties were made with the Six Nations, and the governor says that these treaties were made separately because of the jealousy and hostility existing between them and the Delawares, Wyandottes, etc., which he is 'not willing to lessen,' because it weakens their power. 'Indeed,' he frankly adds, 'it would not be very difficult, if circumstances required it, to set them at deadly variance.'

"Thus early in our history was the ingenious plan evolved of first maddening the Indians into war, and then falling upon them with exterminating punishment. The gentleman who has left on the official records of his country his claim to the first suggestion and recommendation of this method is 'Arthur St. Clair, governor of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio river, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States of America for removing all causes of controversy, regulating trade, and settling boundaries with the Indian nations in the Northern Department.'

"Under all these conditions, it is not a matter of wonder that the frontier was a scene of perpetual devastation and bloodshed; and that, year by year, there grew stronger in the minds of the whites a terror and hatred of Indians; and in the minds of the Indians a stronger and stronger distrust and hatred of the whites.

"The Delawares were, through the earlier part of these troubled times, friendly. In 1791 we find the Secretary of War recommending the commissioners sent to treat with the hostile Miamis and Wabash Indians to stop by the way with the friendly Delawares, and take some of their leading chiefs with them as

allies. He says, 'these tribes are our friends,' and as far as is known, 'the treaties have been well observed by them.'

"But in 1792 we find them mentioned among the hostile tribes to whom was sent a message from the United States Government, containing the following extraordinary paragraphs:

"'Brethren: The President of the United States entertains the opinion that the war which exists is an error and mistake on your parts. That you believe the United States wants to deprive you of your lands, and drive you out of the country. *Be assured that this is not so;* on the contrary, that we should be greatly gratified with the opportunity of imparting to you all the blessings of civilized life; of teaching you to cultivate the earth, and raise corn; to raise oxen, sheep and other domestic animals; to build comfortable houses; and to educate your children so as ever to dwell upon the land.

"'Consult, therefore, upon the great object of peace; call in your parties, and enjoin a cessation of all further depredations; and as many of the principal chiefs as shall choose repair to Philadelphia, the seat of the Great Government, and there make a peace founded on the principles of justice and humanity. *Remember that no additional lands will be required of you or any other tribe, to those that have been ceded by former treaties.*'

"It was in this same year, also, that General Putnam said to them, in a speech at Post Vincennes: 'The United States don't mean to wrong you out of your lands. They don't want to take away your lands by force. They want to do you justice.' And the venerable missionary, Heckewelder, who had journeyed all the way from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to try to help bring about peace, said to them: 'The great chief who has spoken to you is a good man. He loves you and will always speak the truth to you. I wish you to listen to his words, and do as he desires you.'

"In 1793 a great council was held, to which came the chiefs and head men of the Delawares and of twelve other tribes, to meet commissioners of the United States for one last effort to settle the vexed boundary question. The records of this council are profoundly touching. The Indians reiterated over and over the provisions of the old treaties which had established the Ohio

river as one of their boundaries Their words were not the words of ignorant barbarians, clumsily and doggedly holding to a point; they were the words of clear-headed, statesman-like rulers, insisting on the rights of their nations. As the days went on and it became more and more clear that the United States Commissioners would not agree to the establishment of the boundary for which the Indians contended, the speeches of the chiefs grow sadder and sadder. Finally, in desperation, as a lost hope, they propose to the commissioners that all the money which the United States offers to pay them for their lands shall be given to the white settlers to induce them to move away. They say:

" 'Money to us is of no value, and to most of us unknown; and as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands on which we get sustenance for our women and children, we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be easily removed, and peace thereby obtained.

" 'We know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio. Divide, therefore, this large sum of money which you have offered us among these people; give to each, also, a proportion of what you say you would give to us annually, over and above this very large sum of money, and we are persuaded they would most readily accept of it in lieu of the lands you sold them. If you add, also, the great sums you must expend in raising and paying armies with a view to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purpose of repaying these settlers for all their labor and their improvements.

" 'You have talked to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us, who have only been defending our just rights against your invasions. We want peace. Restore to us our country, and we shall be enemies no longer.

" ' * * * We desire you to consider, brothers, that our only demand is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great country. Look back and review the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot. We can retreat no farther, because the country behind hardly affords food for its present

inhabitants, and we have therefore resolved to leave our bones in this small space to which we are now confined.'

"The commissioners replied that to make the Ohio river the boundary was now impossible; that they sincerely regretted that peace could not be made; but 'knowing the upright and liberal views of the United States,' they trust that 'impartial judges will not attribute the continuance of the war to them.'

"Notice was sent to the governor that the Indians 'refused to make peace,' and General Anthony Wayne, a few weeks later, wrote to the Secretary of War: 'The safety of the western frontiers, the reputation of the legion, the dignity and interest of the nation — all forbid a retrograde maneuver, or giving up one inch of ground we now possess, till the enemy are compelled to sue for peace.'

"The history of the campaign that followed is to be found in many volumes treating of the pioneer life of Ohio and other northwestern states. One letter of General Wayne's to the Secretary of War, in August, 1794, contains a paragraph which is interesting, as showing the habits and method of life of the people whom we at this time, by force of arms, drove out from their homes — homes which we had only a few years before solemnly guaranteed to them, even giving them permission to punish any white intruders there as they saw fit. By a feint of approaching Grand Glaize through the Miami villages, General Wayne surprised the settlement, and the Indians, being warned by a deserter, had barely time to flee for their lives. What General Wayne had intended to do may be inferred from this sentence in his letter: 'I have good grounds to conclude that the defection of this villain prevented the enemy from receiving a fatal blow at this place when least expected.'

"However, he consoles himself by the fact that he has 'gained possession of the grand emporium of the hostile Indians of the West without loss of blood. The very extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens show the work of many hands. The margins of those beautiful rivers — the Miamis, of the Lake, and Au Glaize — appear like one continued village for a number of miles, both above and below this place; nor have I ever before

beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America, from Canada to Florida.'

"All these villages were burnt, and all these cornfields destroyed; the Indians were followed up and defeated in a sharp fight. The British agents did their best to keep them hostile, and no inconsiderable aid was furnished to them from Canada. But after a winter of suffering and hunger, and great vacillations of purpose, they finally decided to yield to the inevitable, and in the summer of 1795 they are to be found once more assembled in council for the purpose of making a treaty; once more to be told by the representatives of the United States Government that 'the heart of General Washington, the Great Chief of America, wishes for nothing so much as peace and brotherly love'; that 'such is the justice and liberality of the United States,' that they will now a third time pay for lands; and that they are 'acting the part of a tender father to them and their children in thus providing for them not only at present, but forever.'

"Eleven hundred and thirty Indians (eleven tribes, besides the Delawares, being represented) were parties to this treaty. By this treaty nearly two-thirds of the present state of Ohio were ceded to the United States; and, in consideration of these 'cessions and relinquishments, and to manifest the liberality of the United States as the great means of rendering this peace strong and perpetual,' the United States relinquished all claims 'to all other Indian lands northward of the river Ohio, eastward of the Mississippi, and westward and southward of the Great Lakes and the waters uniting them, according to the boundary line agreed upon by the United States and the King of Great Britain in the treaty of peace made between them in the year 1783,' with the exception of four tracts of land. But it was stated to the Indians that these reservations were made, not 'to annoy or impose the smallest degree of restraint on them in the quiet enjoyment and full possession of their lands,' but simply 'to connect the settlements of the people of the United States,' and 'to prove convenient and advantageous to the different tribes of Indians residing and hunting in their vicinity.'

"The fifth article of the treaty is: 'To prevent any misunderstanding about the Indian lands now relinquished by the

United States, it is explicitly declared that the meaning of that relinquishment is this: that the Indian tribes who have a right to those lands are quietly to enjoy them — hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon *so long as they please* without any molestation from the United States; but when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States; and until such sale the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who intrude on the same.'

"The sixth article reiterates the old pledge, proved by the last three years to be so worthless — that 'if any citizen of the United States, or any other white person or persons, shall presume to settle upon the lands now relinquished by the United States, such citizen or other person shall be out of the protection of the United States; and the Indian tribe on whose land the settlement may be made may drive off the settler, or punish him in such manner as they shall think fit.'

"The seventh article gives the Indians the liberty 'to hunt within the territory and lands which they have now ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably.'

"The United States agreed to pay to the Indians twenty thousand dollars worth of goods at once; and 'henceforward, every year, forever, useful goods to the value of nine thousand five hundred dollars.' Peace was declared to be 'established' and 'perpetual.'

"General Wayne told the Indians that they might believe him, for he had never, 'in a public capacity, told a lie'; and one of the Indians said, with much more dignity, 'The Great Spirit above hears us, and I trust we shall not endeavor to deceive each other.'

"In 1813, by a treaty at Vincennes, the bounds of the reservation of the Post of St. Vincennes were defined, and the Indians, 'as a mark of their regard and attachment to the United States, relinquished to the United States the great salt spring on the Saline Creek.'

"In less than a year we made still another treaty with them for the extinguishment of their title to a tract of land between the Ohio and Wabash rivers (which they sold to us for a ten years' annuity of three hundred dollars, which was to be 'exclusively appropriated to ameliorating their condition and promoting their civilization'); and in one year more still another treaty, in which a still further cession of land was made for a permanent annuity of one thousand dollars.

"In August of this year General Harrison writes to the Secretary of War that there are great dissensions between the Delawares and Miamis in regard to some of the ceded lands, the Miamis claiming that they had never consented to give them up. General Harrison observes the most exact neutrality in this matter, but says, 'A knowledge of the value of land is fast gaining upon the Indians,' and negotiations are becoming in consequence much more difficult. In the course of this controversy, 'one of the chiefs has said that he knew a great part of the land was worth six dollars an acre.'

"It is only ten years since one of the chiefs of these same tribes had said, 'Money is to us of no value.' However, they must be yet very far from having reached any true estimate of real values, as General Harrison adds: 'From the best calculation I have been able to make, the tract now ceded contains at least two millions of acres, and embraces some of the finest lands in the western country.'

"Cheap at one thousand dollars a year! — even with the negro man thrown in, which General Harrison tells the Secretary he has ordered Captain Wells to purchase and present to the chief, The Turtle, and to draw on the United States Treasury for the amount paid for him.

"Four years later (1809) General Harrison is instructed by the President 'to take advantage of the most favorable moment for extinguishing the Indian title to the lands lying east of the Wabash, and adjoining south'; and the title was extinguished by the treaty of Fort Wayne — a little more money paid and a great deal of land given up.

"In 1814 we made a treaty, simply of peace and friendship, with the Delawares and several other tribes: they agreeing to

fight faithfully on our side against the English, and we agreeing to 'confirm and establish all boundaries' as they had existed before the war.

"In 1817 it was deemed advisable to make an effort to 'extinguish the Indian title to all the lands claimed by them within the limits of the state of Ohio.' Two commissioners were appointed, with great discretionary powers; and a treaty was concluded early in autumn, by which there was ceded to the United States nearly all the land to which the Indians had claim in Ohio, a part of Indiana, and a part of Michigan. This treaty was said by the Secretary of War to be the 'most important of any hitherto made with the Indians.' 'The extent of the cession far exceeded' his most sanguine expectations, and he had the honesty to admit that 'there can be no real or well founded objection to the amount of compensation given for it, except that it is not an adequate one.' "

To this splendid presentation of the claims of the Delawares I need only add that they were removed beyond the Mississippi, and finally removed again. To-day but a miserable remnant remain to attest the inability of the Indian to withstand contact with civilization, to also emphasize the greed, rapacity and selfishness of our own people.

"Sir William Johnston, the superintendent for Indian affairs in the Northern Department, a man than whom probably no one else was better acquainted with Indian policy, had several years before Pontiac's war, warned the authorities in the respective colonies, not to exasperate the aborigines along the Ohio by too much land-grabbing.[27] At the Congress held in Albany, New York, in 1754, the Indians proposed the Allegheny mountains as the western boundary of the Colonies,[28] but the purchases made then by Pennsylvania and the subsequent appearance of surveyors on the Juniata and Susquehanna, induced the Delawares, Shawanoes, Nanticokes and others settled in that vicinity, to withdraw either to Diohogo or to the Ohio.

"The men in authority, hundreds of miles away from the frontiers, paid no attention to the warnings of their agents, and

[27] The Ohio Valley in Colonial Days, Fernow, p. 176.
[28] Sir William Johnson Papers, Vol. IV, p. 124.

Pontiac's war was the consequence of arousing the Indians' jealousies by encroaching too near upon them, by taking possession of the lakes and by stopping the distribution of ammunition, etc. among them."[29]

Johnson, in New York Colonial Documents, Vol. VIII, page 460, thus speaks of the characters who brought on these troubles.

"Dissolute fellows, united with debtors, and persons of wandering disposition, who have been removing from Pennsylvania, Virginia, etc., for more than ten years past into the Indian country, towards and on the Ohio and had made a considerable number of settlements as early as 1765, when my deputy (Crogan) was sent to the Illinois, from whence he gave me a particular account of the uneasiness it occasioned among the Indians. Many of these emigrants are idle fellows that are too lazy to cultivate lands, and invited by the plenty of game they found, have employed themselves in hunting, in which they interfere much more with the Indians than if they pursued agriculture alone, and the Indian hunters already begin to feel the scarcity this has occasioned, which greatly increases their resentment."

I have paid particular attention to the influence of "frontiersmen," "pioneers," "traders," "trappers," etc. on Indians. The Sioux told me at Pine Ridge (South Dakota) in 1890 that the wars were caused by theft, whisky, land-grabbing, fraud, destruction by hunters, or wilful murder of peaceful Indians. Red Cloud, born in 1822, said that when he was a young man they had no trouble, it was only when the "advance-guard of civilization" reached the plains that trouble began.[30] A more peaceful and industrious tribe than the Navajos cannot be found. Now they are surrounded by a good class of people and therefore have no trouble. But in early days they had difficulties with miners, travelers, etc., and quietly put a number of them out of the way. As the government kept a watchful eye over them and protected them, trespassing on the Navajo reservation soon ceased.

The conditions in Ohio, 1750 to 1800, and on the plains, 1840 to 1870, were similar. The worst element of the East drifted

[29] The Ohio Valley in Colonial Days, p. 177.

[30] See the Illustrated American, January-April, 1891, for full account of Sioux troubles of 1890, by W. K. M.

thither, killed the game, fired upon natives, whether friendly or hostile. Of course the natives retaliated and returned blow for blow. Do not misunderstand me as saying that *all* whites were of this class. The free and easy life of the plains, excitement of the chase, or opportunity for investment, or exemption from arrest, brought out happy-go-lucky, careless fellows, both rascals and honest men; and the Indians suffered.

Lean Wolf, Rain-in-the-Face and other prominent chiefs of the Sioux corroborated Red Cloud in his statements to me.

Before I describe the conflict in Ohio, let me call attention to the Shawanoes. They were better situated to resist attacks of the whites, for their people were scattered in sixteen small villages upon the various interior streams in the year 1760.[31]

"Christopher Gist, in his journey down the Ohio, in 1750, found one village of Shawanoes. This was at the mouth of the Scioto, and contained one hundred and forty houses and three hundred men."[32]

In 1758 the English established a trading post on the Walhonding, above its mouth, and also one at the mouth of Elk creek. It is reasonable to conclude that English traders were pretty well represented in the various villages by 1760.

The United Brethren's (called Moravian, but not with authority) missions in Ohio stand forth as bright spots in a dark wilderness. Had they been permitted to remain, historians would have less of tragedy to record. In the fall of 1758 the Ohio tribes sent a large embassy to Easton, Pa., and made a formal peace with the English. Christian Post was instrumental in getting this treaty signed.

"White Eyes" was a Delaware, living much of his time upon the Muskingum. His Indian name was Koquethageehlon. In 1762 on the above named river were settled the greatest civil and military chiefs of the nation. Christian F. Post, one of the missionaries, located by the village, having special permission, and cleared ground for a cornfield. However, the Indians stopped

[31] Conspiracy of Pontiac, Vol. I, p. 150.

[32] Force, quoted from Appendix to Pounall's Topographical Description. London, 1776.

him and confined his operations to a lot, 200 x 200 feet. In concluding remarks upon the subject, they said:

"You have marked out a large spot of ground for a plantation, as the white people do everywhere, and by and by another and another may come; and the next thing will be that a fort will be built for the protection of these intruders, and thus our country will be claimed by the white people, and we driven farther back, as has been the case ever since the white people first came into this country. Say, do we not speak the truth?"[33]

This same man Post endeavored to get Shingask (which some write Shingas) to go to Lancaster and meet the governor of Pennsylvania. But the wily war chief would not depart from Ohio, fearing that he would be murdered by the English in revenge for his activities during the war. Post is much in evidence in Ohio and Pennsylvania affairs. He was a staunch United Brethren missionary and the first white man, not a trader, to erect a log dwelling in Ohio.

On the twelfth of September, 1760, Robert Rogers started for Detroit and other posts to take possession of them in the name of England. Near the Cuyahoga river's mouth he was met by Pontiac and a party of warriors. Parkman says: * * * "here, for the first time, this remarkable man stands forth distinctly on the page of history."[34] Pontiac and other northern chiefs were discontented. They, as well as Ohio Indians, saw that no presents were forthcoming from the occupants of the north. Forts were erected or strengthened. When the Indians visited them they were not received with the cordiality characteristic of the French occupation. Cold looks, oaths and blows were their portion. "At a conference at Philadelphia in August, 1761, an Iroquois sachem said, 'We, your brethren of the several nations, are penned up like hogs. There are forts all around us, and therefore we are apprehensive that death is coming upon us.'"[35]

[33] A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohican Indians. John Heckewelder, Philadelphia, 1820, p. 62.

[34] Conspiracy of Pontiac, Vol. I, p. 165.

[35] Conspiracy of Pontiac, Vol. I, p. 177.

Pontiac and his famous conspiracy are equally well known. Of him and his I need say but little. While he besieged Detroit his allies in Ohio were not idle. The resonant drum measured the war chant in villages on the Scioto, along the Muskingum and upon the lake. Warriors, ever restless, sang the traveling and war songs, painted themselves in divers colors and set out along the narrow forest trails.

Colonel Henry Bouquet thinks that the Shawanoes and Delawares began the conflict too soon, and before the other tribes were entirely prepared.[36] They attacked frontier settlements in time of harvest and destroyed immense quantities of property. Of the traders, settlers, hunters and soldiers killed we shall probably never know the true number.

"All our forts, even at the remotest distances, were attacked about the same time, and the following ones soon fell into the enemy's hands:

"Le Boeuf, Venango, Presque Isle, Lake Bay, St. Josephs, Miamis, Ouachtanon, Sandusky and Michilmackinac."[37]

Colonel Bouquet was sent to relieve the garrison at Fort Pitt and to proceed from thence against the Indians of Ohio. He set out in July of 1763 and reached Bushy Run in August, where, upon the fifth and sixth, he met and defeated the combined attacks of the savages. His loss, however, was heavier than that of the enemy.

In the spring of 1764 Bradstreet started for the lakes to chastise the Wyandots, Ottawas and Chippewas, while Bouquet set out upon his famous march to the "forks of the Muskingum." Probably on Monday, October 8, 1764, Bouquet and his force crossed the boundary into Ohio. This date is worth remembering, for previously no large body of troops had ever entered Ohio in pursuit of the natives.

Tidings of his march brought consternation to the Indians. Never had they dreamed that it was possible for such an army to penetrate the wilderness and menace their largest settlements.

[36] An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians in the year 1764, Henry Bouquet. Reprinted by Robt. Clarke, 1868. Cincinnati.

[37] Ibid. p. 5.

Some were for war, others for peace. Most of them feared extermination, for the previous year they had killed all the traders (or nearly all) among them, and sacked their stores. At the time exaggerated statements as to the value of these goods were made. Parkman shares in the opinion that $500,000 is too high a valuation. He says, however, that more than one hundred traders perished.[38] At Sandusky the Missionary Loskiel reports a stratagem employed by the Wyandots.[39] As the traders were too numerous to be attacked openly, they were persuaded to permit themselves to be bound. "In this case," said the Wyandots, "the hostile Indians would refrain from injuring them and they should be set at liberty as soon as the danger was past." No sooner had the unsuspecting traders been securely tied than the natives, laughing at their simplicity, fell upon them with knife and hatchet, murdered them, and then divided their goods. Thus did they repay treachery and deceit and cruelty in like measure.

Bouquet frequently saw Indians during his march, and upon several occasions they came to him for conferences. They sounded him as to his intentions, and he told them in no uncertain words. He notes that the banks of the Muskingum are free from undergrowth and covered by stately timber. He observes many fine openings, or "oak prairies," and herds of game.

"Bouquet continued his march down the valley of Muskingum until he reached a spot where the broad meadows, which bordered the river, would supply abundant grazing for the cattle and horses; while the terrace above, shaded by forest-trees, offered a convenient site for an encampment.[40] Here he began to erect a small pallisade work as a depot for stores and baggage. Before the task was complete, a deputation of chiefs arrived bringing word that their warriors were encamped, in great numbers, about eight miles from the spot, and desiring Bouquet to appoint the time and place for a council. He ordered them to meet him, on the next day, at a point near the margin of the river, a little below the camp; and thither a party of men was

[38] Conspiracy of Pontiac, Vol. II, p. 8.

[39] Loskiel's History of the Mission, p. 99. London, 1794.

[40] Conspiracy of Pontiac, Vol. II, p. 213.

at once dispatched to erect a sort of rustic arbor of saplings and the boughs of trees, large enough to shelter the English officers and the Indian chiefs. With a host of warriors in the neighborhood, who would gladly break in upon them, could they hope that the attack would succeed, it behooved the English to use every precaution. A double guard was placed, and a stringent discipline enforced.

"In the morning the little army moved in battle order to the place of council. Here the principal officers assumed their seats under the canopy of branches, while the glistening array of the troops was drawn out on the meadow in front in such a manner as to produce the most imposing effect on the minds of the Indians, in whose eyes the sight of fifteen hundred men under arms was a spectacle equally new and astounding. The perfect order and silence of the far-extending lines; the ridges of bayonets flashing in the sun; the fluttering tartans of the Highland regulars; the bright red uniform of the Royal Americans; the darker garb and duller trappings of the Pennsylvania troops, and the bands of Virginia backwoodsmen, who, in fringed hunting-frocks and Indian moccassins, stood leaning carelessly on their rifles, — all these combined to form a scene of military pomp and power not soon to be forgotten."

October 17 the chiefs Kiashuta, of the Senecas; Custaloga, of the Delawares; and of the Shawanoes one "whose name sets orthography at defiance," as Parkman aptly remarks, met Bouquet for a preliminary conference. The speeches have been frequently quoted and need not be reproduced here. It is well to note that the Shawanoes declined to speak until they knew what terms would be made the other Indians. When the chiefs dispersed in order that they might collect the white prisoners demanded by Bouquet, the troops moved down to near the forks (the present site of Coshocton) and there erected a stockade. All the villages were now within easy striking distance.

November 11 the various bands of Indians came to Bouquet and surrendered nearly three hundred captives. During the interval between October 17 and November 11 the commanding officer had been busy with his correspondence. Indeed, it seemed as if his plans would be defeated. Bradstreet, within easy strik-

ing distance of the hostile Wyandots of Sandusky, did nothing, and letters from Bouquet to him seemed of no avail. The Shawanoes considered themselves excepted "from the general amnesty, and marked out for destruction." The French traders among them secretly abetted them in this delusion and distributed much powder and lead and other munitions of war. Bouquet was compelled to send urgent messages to the Scioto villages. We may assume that he was ably assisted by James Smith, who accompanied the expedition, and who, as we have seen, was thoroughly acquainted with Indian character.

The scene, as we are told, could not have been more affecting. Many of the relatives of captives had come along with the army. These fell upon their lost ones in paroxysms of joy. Even the stoic savages themselves betrayed emotion, and in surrendering the more beloved of their captives, shed many tears over them. Smith, Parkman, Bouquet and other writers say that captives who had been with the Indians a long time were reluctant to leave the life of the woods. Several had to be bound, others were compelled to come against their will. Many fled to the frontier and joined their Indian friends, choosing the hardships and pleasures of the Indian villages and hunting-fields rather than those of civilization. The autobiography of Mary Jemison, and other intelligent captives, gives us much information as to the treatment of prisoners.

"Among the children brought in for surrender there were some, who, captured several years before, as early, perhaps, as the French war, had lost every recollection of friends and home. Terrified by the novel sights around them, the flash and glitter of arms, and the strange complexion of the pale-faced warriors, they screamed and struggled lustily when consigned to the hands of their relatives."[41]

And after the conditions were all fulfilled, Bouquet, humane officer and gentleman that he was, freely forgave the warriors and took each and all of them by the hand with appropriate speeches. The Shawanoe speaker I shall quote, for his remarks indicate the feeling of his tribe — eternal enmity to the white race. From the tenor of his speech it is believed that at a great

[41] Conspiracy of Pontiac, Parkman, Vol. II, p. 229.

council upon the Scioto the head men declared they would submit, but not through fear. They were warriors first, last and always.

"Brother, when we saw you coming this road you advanced towards us with a tomahawk in your hand; but we, your younger brothers, take it out of your hands and throw it up to God to dispose of as he pleases; by which means we hope never to see it more."[42]

"And now, brother, we beg leave that you who are a warrior, will take hold of this chain (giving a string of wampum) of friendship and receive it from us, *who are also warriors*, and let us think no more of war, in pity for our old men, women and children." And the Shawanoes produced the fragments of a treaty held with William Penn in 1701 and concluded another speech, "Now brother, we who are warriors may forget our disputes and renew the friendship which appears by these papers to have existed between our fathers."[43]

Bouquet gives us a summary in his book of the various Indian tribes. He thinks the Shawanoes in Ohio had five hundred warriors, but I am of the opinion that the people could not muster more than three hundred fighting men at the time of Pontiac's war. He also states that the natives carry news very fast by means of runners and canoes and that they can cover a surprising extent of ground in twenty-four hours.

"In the enumeration of Indians by Sir Wm. Johnston in 1763, which includes none south of the Ohio and Pennsylvania, the only mention of the Shawanoes is 'three hundred removed to the Scioto and other branches.' "[44] They had been much reduced by war at this time.

Had the Ohio tribes known what Sir Jeffrey Amherst proposed to Col. Bouquet regarding them, they would never have surrendered a prisoner, but on the contrary, probably have tortured every one of them. Amherst's diabolical proposition stamps him

[42] An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians in the year 1764, Henry Bouquet. Robt. Clarke, Cincinnati, 1868. P. 71.

[43] An Historical Account, etc. Boquet, p. 72.

[44] Indians of Ohio, Force, p. 33.

as a low villian of the worst type. Having the advantages of civilization and belonging to a Christian nation, his suggestion is all the more despicable. We might expect such thoughts to occur to savages, but least of all to a high officer in the army of Great Britain.

"Could it be contrived to send the Small Pox among those disaffected tribes of Indians? We must on this occasion use every strategem in our power to reduce them." (Signed) J. A.

Again, "Measures must be taken, that, in the End will put a most Effectual Stop to their very Being."[45]

Of the hostages which Bouquet took subsequent to the first conference, there were fourteen. Some escaped en route to Fort Pitt after the surrender of the prisoners. In May, 1765, five hundren and seventy-one chiefs and warriors and many women and children made peace at Fort Pitt with Major Murray. One hundred and nineteen Shawanese warriors were present. It is very interesting to note that an Indian named Simon Girty (Katepacomen) was one of the Delaware hostages. On one occasion James Smith was elected to represent the Shawanese before Col. Bouquet. Just before this expedition an enumeration of the tribes had been made.

Girty, who now appears before us, was then twenty-three years of age, having been born in 1741. He was one of four sons. Girty early became a captive. He witnessed the torture of his step-father, Turner, at the stake. The history of the Girtys, by C. W. Butterfield (Robt. Clarke, Cinti., '92) covers the field of their operations. I have used it largely.

In 1756 the mother and John Girty were taken down the river by the Delaware Indians. The other children remained at Kittaning. Simon learned the Seneca language; James lived with the Shawanoes and George with the Delawares. They all became adepts at savage life. Simon is the best known to history. There are bright spots in his life, yet it may be truthfully said that he was the cause of much trouble and committed many crimes upon the frontier. Simon was known to Pontiac. He cultivated the disaffected elements in all tribes.

[45] Conspiracy of Pontiac, Vol. II, p. 39. This letter was written in July, 1763, and a similar one in August of the same year.

We now arrive at the "mission period" which followed immediately after the boundary-treaty. Post, the missionary and pioneer, had secured permission for the teachers Heckewelder and Zeisberger to preach to the Ohio tribes.

"In October, 1768, a great treaty was held by Sir William Johnson at Fort Stanwix, with the Six Nations, the Shawnees, Delawares, and Senecas of Ohio, at which more than two thousand Indians were present.[46] Several weeks were occupied in completing the business transacted, the principal of which was, the settlement of the question of a boundary line between the whites and the Indians. The governors of several of the colonies were present at this treaty. Governor Penn, of Pennsylvania, after waiting several days for the arrival of the delegates from some of the more distant nations, who were slow in coming, was obliged to leave, and placed his affairs in the hands of two commissioners, to represent that colony. After much discussion and negotiation, conducted entirely by Sir William Johnson, on the part of the English, assisted by his two sons-in-law, Col. Guy Johnson and Col. Claus, the boundary was agreed upon, and the treaty signed by the chiefs of all the six nations, and their dependents, the Delawares, Shawnees, etc. This line extended from near Lake Ontario, at the junction of Canada and Woods creeks, to Owego on the Susquehanna, thence through Pennsylvania, Maryland, etc., to the mouth of the Cherokee or Tennessee river."

In 1771 Zeisberger and Heckewelder were invited to settle on the Muskingum (Elk's Eyes, is the meaning of this word). In April, 1772, Zeisberger with twenty-eight natives settled at Shonbrun (five springs). August 23rd of the same year many Indians and several missionaries removed from the Susquehanna to Shonburn. In April, 1773, the entire settlement on Big Beaver removed to the Muskingum. In the fall of 1770 a great Indian Council was held upon the plains of the Scioto. Sir William Johnson sent Chief Thomas King to represent him. The attendance at this meeting was very considerable, upwards of 2,000; men, women and children being gathered together.

[46] "Buffalo and the Senecas," William Ketchum, Vol. I, p. 158.

"Accordingly, on the 13th of April, 1773, this handsome village was evacuated; one part of the congregation traveling across the country by land, and the other divisions, accompanied by the writer of this narrative, in twenty-two canoes, loaded with baggage, Indian corn, etc., went by water, first down the Big Beaver to the Ohio — thence down that river to the mouth of the Muskingum — thence up that river, according to its course, near two hundred miles, to Shonbrun, the place of destination."[47] Another town, Gnadenhutten was built. Some ideas of the size of these communities, their order and the effect they had upon the wilderness surrounding them may be had from Heckewelder's narrative. As to the chapels, "Both were built of squared timbers and shingle roofed, with a cupola and bell. That at Shonbrun was forty feet by thirty-six, and that at Gnadenhutten somewhat smaller.[48] The towns being regularly laid out, the streets wide and kept clean, and the cattle kept out by means of fences, gave the whole a neat appearance and excited the astonishment of all visitors." Containing upwards of sixty comfortable dwellings, with barns and store-houses, a grist mill, etc., these two communities rivalled all of the white settlements west of Lancaster.

Concerning the converts much might be said. They presented noble traits — having been savages, they were now industrious, peaceable farmers, teachers, coopers, stock-raisers and hunters. Anthony, baptized in 1749, remained steadfast up to the time of his death in 1773. Heckewelder speaks feelingly of the death-bed scene. Isaac, formerly Glickhican, presents us with a dramatic incident. When the hostile Monseys were about to break up the mission at Salem, and desiring to take Issac to Detroit, hesitated to enter his house, knowing him to be a brave, daring man in the past, he stepped out and addressed them thus:

"Friends, by your maneuvres I conclude you are come for me! If so, why do you hesitate?[49] Obey your orders! I am

[47] Heckewelder's Narrative, Philadelphia, 1820, p. 120.

[48] Ibid, p. 122.

[49] Heckewelder's Narrative, p. 270.

ready to submit! You appear to dread Glickhican, as formerly known to you.[50] Yes, there was a time when I would have scorned to have been assailed in the manner you meditate; but I am no more Glickhican, I am Isaac now, a believer in the true and living God, for whose sake I am willing to suffer anything — even death!" Then stepping up to them with his hands placed on his back, he said, "You want to tie me and take me along. Do so." With trembling hands they tied him, and took him off. In passing by our camp at Gnadenhutten, while they were taking him to the Half King, he addressed us: "A good morning, my brethren!" to which we replied: "Good morning, fellow-prisoner, be of good cheer!" "Yes, yes", said he in reply, "I am so."

Converts to the number of nearly two hundred were added to the congregations. Even hostile Wyandots, Senecas, Monseys and Shawanoes passing the village stopped to wish the congregations well. No one can read Loskiel and Heckewelder without being impressed with the success and influence for good of these missions.

In 1774 the Wyandots and Delawares set apart thirty miles of fertile land between Tuscarawas and "the great bend below Newcomerstown" for the missionaries and their flocks. In 1775 the chapel at Shonbrun was too small to contain the numbers attending service. White Eyes, a most able and respected Delaware chief, gave his support to the missions and commended them to all his race. Netawtwas, head chief of the Delawares, decided upon his death-bed at Pittsburg that the gospel should be preached by the brethren to his tribe.

At this time, 1777, Heckewelder writes that Shonbrun contained upwards of sixty dwellings of squared timbers. "The street, from east to west, was long and of a proper width; from the center, where the chapel stood, another street ran off to the north. * * * They had large fields under good rail fences, well paled gardens, and fine fruit trees; besides herds of cattle, horses and hogs."

This is the bright picture presented in '77. That which follows, the historian may well hesitate to draw, for its shades are somber, and the colors are of blood and of fire.

[50] His name signifies the sight on a gun barrel.

Zeisberger extended his labors to the Shawanoes at Wakatameki, paying them a second visit in 1778.

In 1774 war broke out between the Shawanoes-Wyandots and the Virginians. Heckewelder says that the "white people were the agressors." Some idea of the treatment accorded Indians by roving bands of white desperadoes can be obtained from the following:

"On May, 1st, 1774, the following alarming intelligence arrived at Fort Pitt, by one Stevens, who had proceeded in a trader's canoe, which was attacked on the 16th by the Cherokees, in order to have carried her to Sciota, who gave the following particulars, viz.:[51]

"That on the 25th, upon his way down the river, and near Wheeling Creek, he observed a canoe coming up the river, which suspecting to be Indians, he made to the opposite shore to avoid them; but upon his approach near the shore was fired upon, and a Shawnese Indian in the canoe with him, was killed; upon a second fire from the shore, a Delaware Indian, who was also in the canoe, was killed; said Stevens further says, he could not perceive who it was fired upon him, as they lay concealed in the weeds, and upon throwing himself into the river, observed the canoe that was coming up to be white people, upon which he made towards them, and found it to be one Michael Cressop, with a party of men who denied knowing anything of what had happened to them, although from circumstances, he, the said Stevens, is well convinced that the above murder was done by some of said Cressop's associates. Stevens likewise informed me, that while he was in company with Cressop, he heard him make use of threatening language against the Indians, saying:

" 'He would put every Indian to death he met on the river; and that if he could raise men sufficient to cross the river, he would attack a small village of Indians living on Yellow Creek.' "

Some white people settled on choice spots of ground along the south side of the Ohio, and Indians who lived upon the northern shore, or who happened to be coming up or down the stream in canoes, were decoyed across and murdered by them.

[51] Buffalo and the Senecas, Ketchum, Vol. I, p. 169.

Logan's relatives, and also Bald Eagle and Silver Heels were among the killed.

At this period we note Joseph Brant (Thayendanega) the famous Iroquois leader, statesman and warrior — a man of great natural ability and education — became interested in Ohio affairs. He was born in 1742 upon the banks of the Ohio where his people had a temporary village. He died in Canada in 1807.[52]

Logan was the son of Shikellimus, a distinguished Cayuga sachem. Thayendanega was affected by the murders of Bald Eagle and Silver Heels. They were old and well known and both were friendly. Stone says of these murders:[53] "After tearing the scalp from his head (Bald Eagle) the white savages placed the body in a sitting posture in the canoe and set it adrift down the stream. Especially exasperated, at about the same time, were the Shawanoes against the whites for the murder of one of their favorite chiefs, Silver Heels, who had in the kindest manner undertaken to escort several white traders across the woods from the Ohio to Albany a distance of nearly five hundred miles." Heckewelder says that the rage of the Ohio tribes knew no bounds. They drove their traders out of the country.

Encouraged by the success of the United Brethren, Rev. David Jones of Fairfield, New Jersey, set out for the Shawano town Chillicothe, on the present site of Frankfort, Ross county.[54] Traders had started from Pennsylvania in 1772 and moved into the Scioto country. James Girty was in the employ of one of these stores in the capacity of interpreter. Jones reached the town and sought for Girty. But his missionary efforts received a setback, for the Indians were not only opposed to him, but he had trouble in securing a competent interpreter. Of one who was recommended to him he instituted search, but found that he had gone beaver hunting and would not return until in the spring. "'This news', he wrote in his diary, 'blasted all my prospects of making a useful visit: and having no other remedy,

[52] Life of Joseph Brant. Wm. L. Stone, New York, 1838.

[53] Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 38, 40, 41.

[54] There were several Chillicothes. Old Town, Greene county, is on the site of another.

I applied to one James Girty who was well acquainted with their language, but a stranger to religion; neither had he any inclination to engage in such solemn matters contrary to the tenor of his life, having little or no fear of God before his eyes; yet he was civil, and after much persuasion engaged to assist me; but he dare not proceed he said until some head men came home who were out hunting but expected soon to return. In the meantime I employed myself by making a vocabulary of the language by his assistance and Mrs. Henry's, (the wife of a white trader, herself a white woman). However, the temper of the Indians was such that the good man did not wait for the return of the head men, but soon started on his journey homeward."[55]

A report was brought to the Ohio tribes that Lord Dunmore was marching against them from Virginia. Accordingly the hostile natives moved westward leaving, for the present, only the Christian Indians along the east side of the Muskingum.

General Lewis and Lord Dunmore set out in September against the Shawanoes. The former followed the Ohio, the latter headed for the Shawanoe towns in the Pickaway Plains.

Both Simon Kenton and Simon Girty accompanied Dunmore on his expedition. Lewis reached the mouth of the Kanawha and fought the battle of Point Pleasant in which some eight hundred Indians led by Logan, Cornstalk, Ellenipisco (Cornstalk's son) and Red Eagle participated. The forces were about equal. During the fight Cornstalk's voice was frequently heard crying, "Be strong, be strong!" Finally the savages retreated. Smith says that the retreat was most masterly carried out and that most of the body crossed the river, bearing away their wounded and dead, while a few picked men kept up the battle. Lewis's brother was killed during the action.

"This battle, considering the numbers engaged, has been ranked one of the most bloody on record.[56] The loss of the Indians was never known, but must have been severe; it is said that in addition to the killed and wounded borne away, numbers of the slain were thrown into the river, and thirty-three of their warriors were found dead upon the field, the following day. The

[55] History of the Girtys, Butterfield, p. 20.

[56] Buffalo and the Senecas, Vol. I, p. 178.

loss of the Virginians was also severe. Two of their colonels were killed, four captains, many subordinates, and between fifty and sixty privates, besides a much larger number wounded. It is said that Cornstalk was opposed to giving battle at the mouth of the Kanawha, but being overruled in council, resolved to do his best.

"Upon their arrival at Chillicothe, a council of Indians was held to decide what was next to be done. Cornstalk addressed the council. He said, 'The long knives are upon us from by two routes. Shall we turn and fight them?' No response being made to the question, he continued: 'Shall we kill our squaws and children, and then fight until we are killed ourselves?' As before, all were silent, whereupon Cornstalk struck his tomahawk into the war post, standing in the midst of the council and remarked with emphasis: 'Since you are not inclined to fight, I will go and make peace.' Saying which, he repaired to the camp of Lord Dunmore, who having crossed the Ohio was now approaching Scioto. Cornstalk was accompanied by several other chiefs, on this mission of peace, but Logan refused to go with them. He was in favor of peace, but scorned to ask it. The chief speaker on this occasion was Cornstalk, who did not fail to charge the whites with being the sole cause of the war, enumerating the provocations which the Indians had received, and dwelling with peculiar force upon the murders committed in the family of Logan."

Dunmore marched without opposition to near Cornstalk town — now six miles southwest of Circleville, Ohio, on the Pickaway Plains. He was within easy reach of the two Chillicothes, also near the town on the present site of Westfall, and but a mile from Squaw Town. He encamped on the "Black Mount", or high ridge of ground prominent in the center of the Plains and an object of more than historic interest. He sent messages to the various camps.

"While negotiations were going forward the Mingo chief held himself aloof.[57] 'Two or three days before the treaty', says an eye witness, 'when I was on the out-guard, Simon Girty who was passing by, stopped with me and conversed; he said he was

[57] History of the Girtys, p. 29.

going after Logan, but he did not like his business for he was a surly fellow. He, however, proceeded on and I saw him return on the day of the treaty and Logan was not with him. At this time a circle was formed, and the treaty begun. I saw John Gibson on Girty's arrival get up and go out of the circle and talk with Girty, after which he (Gibson) went into a tent, and soon after returning into the circle, drew out of his pocket a piece of clean, new paper, on which was written in his own handwriting a speech for and in the name of Logan.' This was the famous speech about which there has been so much controversy. It is now well established that the version as first printed, was substantially the words of Logan."

The latest attack upon the speech of Logan appeared in no less a standard magazine than the Century. The name of Lord Dunmore was incorrectly given, and the speech referred to as lacking evidence of authenticity in history. I wrote to the author giving a large number of historical references, etc. From the reply I have received, and what I have since learned, I take it that he desired to have some of the Virginia officers of the day appear in a little better light than their actions warrant. He even denied that Cressap committed murders upon Logan's relations. I do not care whether Cressap or Broadhead slew Logan's people. This does not affect the speech —, the change of a name. During the controversy, Cressap's friends simply shifted the blame onto Broadhead, and never denied that Logan's relatives were foully murdered in time of peace by whites.

Aside from some forty-five reliable references of people who lived during these stormy scenes, the speech itself is best evidence of its genuineness. It lost, doubtless, in translation, for the Indian conception does not retain its original beauty when literally translated. Through the European and the Indian minds run vastly different thoughts. Such an outburst of human passion comes only from a heart torn by conflicting emotions. It is not possible that Gibson calmly evolved this speech out of his own mind. Logan was a man of great ability. He had long brooded over his wrongs — usually in solitude — and he realized that there was nothing left in life for him or for his race. Treaties they might make, but those treaties

could not be kept. There was no hope. The end was come only when the last acre had passed into the hands of his grasping enemies. Every chief of prominence has realized this to a greater or less extent. Tecumtha and Cornstalk and Pontiac and Brant and Osceola and Red Cloud and Joseph and all that list of remarkable aborigines have delivered, to their credit, striking orations on the destiny of the American race. Not one compared with that of Logan. To say that this burst of native eloquence, this touching, yet withal dignified plea, this flight of oratory which has moved the hearts of men for more than a century, is the product of an English army officer written in cold blood, is to assume a position substantiated neither by history nor by reason.

Although the state of Ohio has not as yet preserved the sites of battles, conferences or treaties, it is worthy of record in this report that a monument has been erected by a private gentleman at the site of Logan's cabin. Mr. John Boggs, whose father built the first settler's cabin in the Pickaway plains prior to 1800, raised a monument one hundred yards from a large elm (known as the Logan Elm). Upon four bronze tablets, placed one on each side of the shaft, he sets forth the facts as he learned them from his father and others. One states the family history briefly, giving the names of children killed by Indians, etc.; another gives the facts of Dunmore's expedition; another affirms that Logan spoke under this elm. The site is in Pickaway township.

The elm is about two miles and a half from the site of Dunmore's camp. Girty, it will be remembered, was sent to Logan's camp some distance away. The elm is about seven feet in diameter, has a spread of one hundred and sixty feet, and is one of the largest trees I have seen in that entire region. It is very old and has already commenced to die at its top. Mr. Boggs is deserving of great credit for his interest in preserving this historic site.

"Peace followed with the Shawanoes, but the Mingoes, in attempting to escape without making terms with Dunmore, were

by Major William Crawford, who led a few brave men against them, severely punished.[58]

In 1775 it seems that troubles again occurred upon the frontier. The following Indians came to Fort Pitt and presented Lord Dunmore with their grievances: White Eyes, Cornstalk, Kayashuta (Mingo Chief), John Montour (half breed, but a prominent man) and Logan.

In November of this year (1775) Henry Hamilton arrived at Detroit as Lieutenant-Governor and Indian superintendent for the British Government. During the beginning of the American Revolution the Indians were cautioned by both sides to observe strict neutrality regarding the conflict. As the conflict grew fiercer, the tribes were compelled to take sides, and as a natural consequence they were soon "between the upper and lower millstones." Let us follow Heckewelder's narrative through part of this period. He was right among all the hostile as well as the friendly tribes, and is entirely competent to speak.

Captain Pipe was an artful and cunning man. He was a chief of the Delawares and very jealous of White Eyes, also a chief, yet one of more character and honor. In 1776 various rumors reached the Christians that the Iroquois would join the English. The Sandusky Wyandots were soon influenced by the British at Detroit. They were the worst of our Ohio Indians. Chiefs White Eyes, Gelelemend (Killbuck), Netawatwes and Machingwipuschiis (Big Cat) did everything to preserve peace by sending embassies and exhorting the nations not to take up the hatchet. The Sandusky warriors advised their cousins "to keep good shoes in readiness to join the warriors." On November 12 Matthew Elliot entered the town with a number of horseloads of goods, a hired man and a female Indian companion. As he expressed sentiments favorable to the Americans, and Wyandots friendly to English interests were near at hand, the missionaries were placed in a desperate situation. Should the Wyandots murder Elliot the Americans might claim that the missions sheltered British Indians and move against them. All this was represented to Elliot, but he did not depart until they

[58] The following pages are taken almost entirely from Heckewelder. (Narrative of the United Brethren Mission, etc.)

had continuously importuned him for some days. He was overtaken by Wyandots, bound, and his goods divided amongst them. The missionaries heard of this, and, sending out some Christian Indians in pursuit, prevailed upon the Wyandots to release the captive.

In 1777 the Shawanoes resolved to join the British. Some of the disaffected elements in the Delaware nation did likewise. The Virginians and Pennsylvanians were cordially hated by the Ohio Indians. Neither did the natives love the British, but they looked upon the south and east as countries from whence all the settlers, hunters, expeditions and armies came, and as the British at Detroit made them large gifts, they decided "to aid the father in his war upon his disobedient son."

Cornstalk, one of the best Indians ever born in the Ohio Valley, was killed under treacherous circumstances this year. He and his son Ellinipsico went to the stockade-fort at Point Pleasant upon business. Both were well known to the people of the place as being friendly and neutral. Captain Arbuckle could have prevented Cornstalk's murder, but through fear of his own troops he refrained from so doing. While the chiefs were inside, some soldiers came running to the fort and reported that when in the woods they had been fired upon. The troops did not pursue after the miscreants who had committed the outrage, but fell upon the defenseless Indians within.

As the swearing troops approached, Ellinipsico was agitated and sought to defend himself. Not so with Cornstalk. "He had grappled too often with death on the battle-field to fear his approaches now. Perceiving the emotions of his son, he calmly observed: 'My son, the Great Spirit has seen fit that we should die together and has sent you to that end. It is his will, and let us submit.' The mob having entered the apartment of the chiefs, fired upon them. Cornstalk fell pierced by seven bullets and died without a struggle. The son, after the exhortation of his father, met his death with composure and was shot as he sat upon a bench."

The Virginians and Kentuckians were determined to destroy the missions, believing them to be a base of supplies or a con-

venience to tribes in league with the British. But the American officers at Fort Pitt had all confidence in the missionaries.

"However, in the beginning of October (1777), a party of freebooters from the Ohio settlements, in defiance of the commandant's endeavors to restrain them from it, crossed the Ohio with intentions to destroy the peaceable Delaware settlements in the Muskingum; being, however, timely discovered by a party of Wyandots, headed by the Half King, they were attacked and totally defeated."[59]

Early in the spring of 1778 the Wyandots and Mingoes began to commit outrages against the settlements. As these war parties passed the mission towns the Christians were compelled, according to Indian custom, to either feed the warriors or suffer as a consequence the killing of cattle and hogs in case of refusal. Heckewelder makes it a strong point that the missionaries permitted no member of the congregation to go to war or to aid the enemy, or to receive any property brought back from the raids, or to entertain in the houses any persons warriors by profession, or not of good moral character. Frequently war parties halted a distance from the missions (for the leaders well knew that the missionaries did not desire their presence among the Christians) and when the Elders or "National Assistants" of the mission heard of the presence of these parties they sent food to them and cared for such prisoners as they might have. Frequently did they buy prisoners in order that they might save them from torture or adoption. An old man was purchased from the Shawanoes in this year and tenderly cared for by the Christian women until he was sufficiently strong to be taken to Pittsburg.

The British commander at Detroit sent a letter to the missionaries in which he stated that the Christians must turn out and fight the Americans or suffer consequences. After a consultation, Zeisberger committed the communication to the flames.

March 28, 1778, Alexander McKee, Simon Girty and Matthew Elliot, all three suspicious and dangerous characters, fled from Fort Pitt and descended the Ohio. Seven soldiers ran off with them. Girty claimed that they had not been well used,

[59] Heckewelder's Narrative, Philadelphia, 1820, p. 165.

hence their desertion to the British. The commandant at Fort Pitt immediately declared them outlaws and offered a compensation for their apprehension. These rascals reached Goshocking and told the Indians that the Americans had all conspired for their destruction. They then departed for the Scioto.

Captain Pipe seized upon this as his opportunity to gather to himself all the Delawares. White Eyes was yet friendly to the Americans. A great council was called at his town upon the Walhonding. (Gook-bo-sing, fifteen miles above the forks.) Pipe wished to induce the warriors to go to war, but personally he did not care to then take up the hatchet. White Eyes put himself on record. Said he:

"If you will go out in this war, you shall not go without me. I have taken peace measures, it is true, with the view of saving my tribe from destruction, but if you think me in the wrong and give more credit to vagabond fugitives, whom I know to be such, than to myself, who am best acquainted with the real state of things; if you insist on fighting the Americans, go, and I will go with you. I will not go like the bear hunter to set his dogs upon the animal to be beaten about with his paws, while he keeps himself at a safe distance. No! I will lead you on, I will place myself in the front, I will fall with the first of you. You can do as you choose, but as for me, I will not survive my nation. I will not live to bewail the miserable fate of the brave people who deserve, as you do, a better."

At this critical juncture, February, 1778, several of the teachers went to Fort Pitt and there interviewed Colonels Hand and Gibson and were informed that no action was contemplated against the missions; that they were considered as neutral. Although the journey was beset by dangers, for hostile bands might be encountered upon any one of the trails, they set out for home. When near Gnadenhutten, they heard the beat of a drum and the war song sung to its time. They found the Christians still there. A party of Wyandots was at the bluff two miles below, and it was their drum which Heckewelder heard. Having had no rest of consequence, Heckewelder was completely exhausted; yet he slept but a few hours. Accompanied by John Martin, an Indian convert, he swam the Muskingum and pro-

ceeded towards Goshocking, "where all was bustle and confusion, and many preparing to go off and fight the Americans."[60]

"Arriving by ten o'clock in the forenoon, and in sight of the town, a few yells were given by a person who had discovered us, intended to notify the inhabitants that a white man was coming, and which immediately drew the whole body of Indians into the street; but although I saluted them in passing, not a single person returned the compliment, which, as my conductor observed, was no good omen. Even Captain White Eyes, and the other chiefs, who had always befriended me, now stepped back when I reached out my hand to them, which strange conduct however did not dismay me, as I observed among the crowd some men well known to me as spies of Captain Pipe's watching the actions of these peace chiefs, wherefore I was satisfied that the act of refusing me the hand had been done from policy, and not from any ill will toward my person. Indeed, in looking around I thought I could read joy in the countenance of many of them in seeing me among them at so critical a juncture, when they, but a few days before, had been told by those deserters that nothing short of their total destruction had been resolved upon by the Long Knives. Yet, as no one would reach out his hand to me, I inquired into the cause, when Captain White Eyes, boldly stepping forward, replied, 'That by what had been told them by those men (McKee and party) they no longer had a single friend among the American people; if, therefore, this be so, they must consider every white man who came to them from that side as an enemy who only came to deceive them and put them off their guard for the purpose of giving the enemy an opportunity of taking them by surprise.' I replied that the imputation was unfounded and that, were I not their friend, they never would have seen me here. 'Then,' continued Captain White Eyes, 'you will tell us the truth with regard to what I state to you.' Assuring him of this, he in a strong tone asked me: 'Are the American armies all cut to pieces by the English troops? Is General Washington killed? Is there no more a Congress? And have the English hung some of them and taken the remainder

[60] Nearly all this matter is taken directly from Heckewelder's Narrative.

abroad to hang them there? Is the whole country beyond the mountains in possession of the English, and are the few thousand Americans who have escaped them now embodying themselves on this side of the mountains for the purpose of killing all the Indians in this country, even our women and children? Now do not deceive us, but speak the truth. Is this all true what I have said to you?'

"I declared to him before the whole assembly that not one word of what he had just told me was true, and holding out to him, as I had done before, the friendly speeches sent by me for them, which he, however, as yet refused to accept, thought by the countenances of the bystanders that I could perceive that the moment bid fair for their listening, at least to the contents of those speeches, and accidentally catching the eye of the drummer, I called to him to beat the drum for the assembly to meet for the purpose of hearing what their American brethren had to say. A general smile having taken place, White Eyes thought the favorable moment had arrived to put the question, and, having addressed the assembly in these words: 'Shall we, my friends and relatives, listen once more to those who call us their brethren?' which question, being loudly and as with one voice answered in the affirmative, the drum was beat, and the whole body quickly repairing to the spacious council chamber, the speeches, all of which were of the most pacific nature, were read and interpreted to them. When Captain White Eyes arose and in an elaborate address to the assembly took particular notice of the good disposition of the American people toward the Indians, observing, that they had never as yet called on them to fight the English, knowing that the war was destructive to nations, that those had from the beginning of the war, to the present time, always advised them to remain quiet and not take up the hatchet against either side. A newspaper containing the capitulation of General Burgoyne's army being found enclosed in the packet, Captain White Eyes once more rose up and, holding the paper unfolded with both his hands so that all could have a view of it, said, 'See, my friends and relatives, this document contains great events; not the song of a bird, but the truth!' Then stepping up to me, he gave me his hand, saying: 'You are welcome

with us, brother.' Every one present followed his example, after which I proceeded with my conductor, John Martin, to Lichtenau (the new mission) where, to the inexpressible joy of the venerable missionary, Zeisberger, and his congregation, we related what had taken place, while they, on the other hand, assured us that nothing could have at that time come more seasonable to save the nation and with it the mission from utter destruction than our arrival."

White Eyes immediately sent runners to the Shawanoe towns on the Scioto apprising his "grandchildren" of the "song imposed upon us" and cautioning them not to listen to it. The scene, the speech of White Eyes and the confusion in the towns are all well known to readers, having frequently been told in our border warfare histories.

For some time during 1778 the missionaries were undisturbed, and we read in Heckewelder's Narrative of many converts and a large attendance at services; also the passing of numerous parties through the towns. During the fall, Matthew Elliot, who, it will be remembered, was one of those who fled from Pittsburg in Girty's party, succeeded in persuading the governor at Detroit that the missionaries were sent among the Delawares by the American Congress for no other purpose than stirring up dissension and of enlisting their sympathies against the British. McKee and Girty were parties to this assertion. Indeed, the destruction of the mission is largely chargeable to them.

White Eyes died in this same year while accompanying General McIntosh on an expedition into the Tuscarawas country.[61] He was a great and useful man and is spoken of highly by many of the writers.

In 1779 the whites from the Ohio river began stealing horses from the Christian Indians. During the same year a delegation of the Cherokees journeyed from the south and visited the Delawares for the purpose of consoling them for the loss of White Eyes. The ceremony performed was very affecting.

[61] Brigadier-General McIntosh in November and December of 1778 erected Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawas. Bolivar, in Tuscarawas county, is half a mile above the site of the fort.

During the excitement attendant upon the capture of the governor of Detroit by General Clarke, Simon Girty had engaged to lead a war party for the purpose of taking Zeisberger alive or dead. A friendly trader contrived to send word to Heckewelder.[62] He despatched two brethren, one of whom was the brave Isaac Glickhican, of whom I have already spoken. They met the senior missionary at Lichtenau, and when nine miles from that place eight Mingoes, headed by Simon Girty, suddenly appeared in the path. "This is the very man we have come for; now act agreeable to the promise you have made!" cried Girty. Two young Delawares at this moment burst out from the forest, and taking in the situation at a glance, prepared their guns to defend Zeisberger. Girty withdrew, not wishing to face complications which might arise were he to attack two Indians not Christians. The young warriors accompanied the missionary to Gnadenhutten, saying that while not of the faith, yet they could not see so good a man as the minister captured by Girty.

In 1780 and the early spring of 1781 complications arose which sadly disturbed the peace of the missions. Pipe and some other chiefs continued their intrigues. Even friendly Delawares began to counsel a union with the Sandusky villages and to advocate an alliance with the British.

In the spring of 1781 Colonel Broadhead camped a few miles from Salem and sent word for an interview. The missionaries gave him an audience. He spoke at great length upon the peaceful conduct of the Christians, of the examples they were setting their more warlike neighbors, and of the faith that Congress had in Zeisberger and Heckewelder. Broadhead was doubtless sincere in this, but while he spoke "an officer came with great speed from another quarter of the camp, and reported that a particular division of the militia were preparing to break off for the purpose of destroying the Moravian settlements up the river." Colonel Broadhead immediately took measures to prevent them perfecting their designs.

"On the afternoon of the tenth of August, 1781, the Half King, with an hundred and forty armed men, suddenly appeared

[62] I continue to quote from Heckewelder, or to use his information with slight alterations.

before the town of Salem with the British colors flying, and having formed for themselves a large camp, the colors were set in the center, where Captain Elliot, with the Half King and Mr. McCormick (the flag bearer), had their tents fixed." Elliot called upon Heckewelder and said that something of importance was in store for the Christians. Accordingly word was sent to the inhabitants of the three towns and Gnadenhutten (it being the center) was set upon as the point of conference.

"Soon more than three hundred warriors had assembled from the lake region and elsewhere. The Wyandots from Upper Sandusky commanded by the Half King; others of the same nation from Detroit and Lower Sandusky, commanded by Kuhn, a head chief of the latter place; Captains Pipe and Wingemund, Delaware war-chiefs; the Monsey war-chiefs with about forty men; the two Shawanoe captains, named by the traders John and Thomas Snake, and a few of their men from Sciota; several straggling Indians of the Mohegan and Ottawa tribes."

August twentieth, after a week of feasting and debating, the Half King appointed a conference for the following day. The speeches, long and interesting and given nearly in full by Heckewelder, cannot be repeated here. Having preserved a pacific course through the war, the Christians urged that they did not fear the Virginians. Moreover their possessions of corn, cattle, property and food were so extensive that they could not well move to the Sandusky region. They succeeded in convincing the Half King against their removal. But Elliot and the Monseys continued to clamor for the Christian's removal, "for", said he, "the Virginians will surely come here and murder them." Elliot did not care himself, but he was desirous of drawing the entire Delaware nation into the war and this was the only way he could accomplish his purpose. Debates, quarrels and plottings were rife. It became known that Elliot expected to get the cattle himself and sell them in Detroit for forty dollars per head, and for this purpose he had brought several horse-loads of goods to distribute among the Indians after the Christians were made captive.

September 2nd the warriors became very surly. Dead cattle

caused an intolerable stench in the town. The Half King called the people together again and demanded, would they move or not? They replied in the negative. Then the savages went into council and sat nearly all night. Some were in favor of murdering the missionaries at once. But others held that men like Isaac Glickhican would defend them. Heckewelder's policy of universal peace prompted him to employ heroic measures which he thought the present crisis warranted. That was, the placing of an Indian friendly to the mission in the night council. How such an one eluded the viligance of the savages we know not, we must confess that it was an admirable bit of detective work. September 4th all the congregation being called to the chapel, the senior missionary, Zeisberger, presented an address of some three hours in length. The edifice was crowded, for not only Christians, but many of the warriors and chiefs were also present. The sermon was of such touching, gentle and comforting character that, if we are to believe Heckewelder, nearly all were in tears at its conclusion, and even the hostile element came forward and shook hands with the missionaries, averring that this removal was due to the officers at Detroit and the chiefs, and that they were unwilling agents compelled to perform it.

I shall pass rapidly over the sacking of the towns, the insults and privations heaped upon the Christians during the march to the Sandusky Plains. It is a dark chapter in Ohio history. Help could have been had from Pittsburg, for messengers from Gnadenhutten had reached that post and informed the commandant of the state of affairs. But he wisely concluded that an armed intervention on his part would result in the extermination of the missions, for the British would then consider them as enemies. As the sequel will show, it would have been better had Broadhead and Gibson sent an expedition against the Wyandots and others while they were in the missions. The expedition would have crushed them and the border ruffians who did destroy the towns shortly afterward, would have heard of this action. Being convinced that the missions were friendly and under the protection of Fort Pitt, Williamson and his party would not have dared to assault them. The only danger of extermina-

tion would be from Detroit or Sandusky, and a small fort between Salem and Gnadenhutten garrisoned by brave men, would have secured the towns. But no such action was taken, and instead of protection, murder and arson reigned.

September 11th they started. The Half King searched the woods for buried articles; for the Christians had hidden all their pewter and kitchen utensils, their ploughs, hoes, and various iron implements, some of their personal belongings and much corn. This was done during the night. Pipe conducted the party, and as his Delawares were rather friendly as compared with the Wyandots, the Christians got along very well. But the Half King soon caught up and "behaved like a mad man", and so the missionaries importuned Pipe to let them go on either with the Delawares or alone, promising that they would proceed to the designation in good faith and as rapidly as possible. They went up the Walhonding river, but slowly, on account of low water and drift. A heavy rain and thunder-storm detained them a day. Falling trees crushed their largest canoe and it sunk with much food and valuable personal belongings. The Half King sent off a party headed by his two sons against the Ohio river settlements, but the force was defeated and his two sons killed. I shall refer to this action later. After leaving the river they proceeded across country. The Wyandots again came up with them and urged greater speed. They whipped the horses and also numbers of the converts, crying, "How, how!" (along, along).

October 11th they were left by the Half King at Upper Sandusky and told to shift for themselves. Both men and women were completely exhausted and barely able to march. Food was getting scarce and the packs which all carried seemed like lead, so they settled down upon a plain by the river. The missionaries left the Christians here and set out for Detroit, where they obtained audience with the Commandant, November 9th. Pipe and his men were present. Arnet Schuyler De Peyster, the commandant, addressed him:

" 'Captain Pipe, you have for a long time lodged complaints with me against certain white people among your nation, and whom you call teachers to the believing Indians, who, as you

say, are friends to the Americans, and keep up a continual correspondence with them, to the prejudice of your father's interests. You having so repeatedly accused these teachers and desiring that I might remove them from among you; I at length commanded you to take them together with the believing Indians away from the Muskingum and bring them into your country, and being since informed that this has been done, I ordered you to bring those teachers together with some of their principal men before me, that I might see and speak with them; since that time these men now sitting before you, have come in and surrendered themselves up to me without your being with them. I now ask you, Captain Pipe, if these men are those of whom you so much complained; and whom I ordered you to bring before me?' Pipe replied in the affirmative. The Commandant continued:

"'Well, both the accuser and the accused being present, it is but fair, that the accused hear from the accuser, of the complaints he has against him; I therefore desire you to repeat what you have told me of these teachers and accuse them of it.'

"Pipe, standing at the time, turned to his counsellors telling them to get upon their legs and speak. Finding them panic-struck he appeared to be at a loss how to act. Seeing that his men would not speak, he boldly defended the teachers against accusations brought against them, saying, 'That they were good men and that he wished his father to speak good words to them. They were his friends, and that he would be sorry to see them treated ill and hard.' The officer persisted, the Indians hung their heads and finally Pipe boldly said: 'Father, the teachers cannot be blamed for this, for living in our country where they had to do whatever we required of them, they were compelled to act as they did. They did not write letters for themselves but for us. I am to blame! I caused them to do what they did! We urged them to it, whilst they refused, telling us that they did not come here for the purpose of meddling in our affairs, but for the spiritual good of the Indians.' The Commandant then asking him, 'What he wished him to do with us, whether he should send us out of the country, or permit us to return again to our families and congregations?' Pipe, contrary to

what was expected, advised that we be suffered to return to our homes."

The officer then questioned the missionaries and Heckewelder explained his work and what he knew of the American Congress, all of which was interpreted to Pipe and his followers. Satisfied with the explanation given he acquitted them of the charges and admonished that neither they nor their converts should meddle in the war.

"On retiring from the council-house we were congratulated by many respectable inhabitants of the place on our happy acquittal and the prospect of our returning again to our families."

People gave them clothes, the traders furnished food, De Peyster presented them with horses, and in joy they joined the congregation at Upper Sandusky.

March 13th to 15th, 1782, bad news came from the Muskingum. The Christians were preparing to return to their former homes, for the winter had been extremely rigid. Food had been scarce and there was much suffering. The intrigues of Girty and Elliot well nigh effected their destruction, but so far they had escaped. Many of the Christians had returned to Salem and Gnadenhutten to gather corn, etc. They had been there but a short time when they were met by over one hundred white men, mostly back-woodsmen and under the leadership of one Williamson. These gathered the Indians together and informed them that they must die. "For", said they, "when they killed the Indians, the country would be theirs, and the sooner this was done the better."

"Finding that all entreaties to save their lives were to no purpose, and that some more bloodthirsty than their comrades were anxious to begin upon them, they united in begging a short delay, that they might prepare themselves for death, which request was at length granted them. Then asking pardon for any offense they had given, or grief they had occasioned to each other, they kneeled down offering fervent prayer to God their Savior and kissing one another, under a flood of tears fully resigned to His will, they sang praises unto Him in the joyful hope that they would soon be relieved from all pain and join their Redeemer in everlasting bliss.

"The murderers, impatient to make a beginning, came again to them while they were singing, and inquiring whether they were now ready for dying, they were answered in the affirmative; adding, 'that they had commended their immortal souls to God who had given them the assurance in their hearts that he would receive their souls.' One of the party now taking up a cooper's mallet, which lay in the house (the owner being a cooper) saying, 'how exactly this will answer for this business', he began with Abraham, and continued knocking down one after another until he had counted fourteen, that he had killed with his own hands. He now handed the instrument to one of his fellow-murderers, saying, 'My arm fails me! Go on in the same way! I think I have done pretty well!'

"The number of Christian Indians murdered by these miscreants exceeded ninety." Isaac Glickhican was of the number. Two lads escaped. One, understanding English well, gave the missionaries his version of the affair. Years afterward some of the whites engaged died expressing remorse, and one in particular, when under the influence of liquor, would rehearse the scene, the prayers, the cries of the murdered; and, it is said, his recitation was intensely dramatic. He would fall upon the ground in a paroxysm of terror and remorse calling upon the Almighty to blame others rather than himself!

The savages not only condemned the action; they said, "What kind of people are these who kill their friends? We kill enemies." James Smith said, in a burst of righteous indignation:

"This was an act of barbarity beyond anything I ever knew to be committed by the savages themselves."

Congress, to our shame, never punished these murderers. In 1797 it gave the United Brethren three separate tracts of 4,000 acres each at Salem, Gnadenhutten and Shonbrun. Heckewelder visited the spot and laid out town sites. In October Zeisberger and the rest settled upon the old sites. They remained some time after Zeisberger's death, which occurred in July, 1808, at Goshen on the Muskingum. Then they abandoned the missions and returned to Bethlehem, Pa.

I need not refer to the small missions established in Canada,

or to Heckewelder's second journey to Detroit, or to the terrible night in the same house with Girty, when that individual, being in an adjoining room, threatened to chop through the partition and split their heads with his war hatchet.

"After the murders at Gnadenhutten the Wyandots, Shawanoes and Delawares continually kept spies out to guard against being surprised by the Americans." In May, two months after Williamson's stroke, that individual and Colonel Crawford set out for the Christian Indian settlement near Sandusky with the object of killing them and also such of the Wyandots and other tribes as might lay in their path. Finding none there, they turned towards the towns containing real warriors, "which," observes the faithful Heckewelder, "was exactly what the assembled warriors wished for." Having reached an open place in the high grass, the Indians engaged the troops. Although about five hundred strong, the savages would have completely routed them but for the darkness.

"The plan now being that they would surround them during the night and at daybreak attack them from all sides, they moved on at the proper time, when, however, to their mortification, they discovered that the heroes had fled during the night, not choosing to, as it appeared, stand an engagement with the kind of warriors they met here. Some few who were not awake from their sleep when their comrades went off, were found yet in that condition, lying in the high grass. Many bundles of ropes and ready-made halters, to take off the plunder and horses which would fall into their hands, were collected in the prairie. It seemed that they calculated on taking much booty home with them, but finding themselves mistaken, they chose to lose their baggage rather than to run the risk of losing their lives. In the pursuit many were killed, and poor Colonel Crawford, together with Doctor McKnight, had the misfortune to be taken prisoners. 'Where is Williamson, the head murderer?' was the call of the Indians from every quarter. They being told that he was one of the first that had fled from the ground, they cried out: 'Revenge, revenge, on those we have in our power for the murder of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum and our friends at Pittsburg.' 'These,' said they to one another, 'have come out on a

similar expedition with the same men who committed that atrocious murder on our friends and relations, to do the same to us that are all alike. They want our country from us and know of no better way of obtaining it than by killing us first! For this very reason they killed the believing Indians and our relations at Pittsburg.' They called aloud for the surviving Christian Indians to come forward and take revenge on these prisoners; but they having moved, their savage relations stepped forward in their stead. The fire was kindled and poor Crawford tied to the stake. The torture had not begun when it occurred to him that he had one particular Indian friend, by name Wingemund. 'Where is my friend Wingemund?' he called out. 'I wish to see him.' This Indian chief being sent for, an interesting and somewhat affectionate conversation took place between them, yet without producing the effect the Colonel had faintly calculated upon — he hoping that both by the influence his Indian friend had with the nation and the intercession he would make in his behalf, his life might be saved; in which, however, he found himself grievously mistaken, for at this time, or, as the case then stood, it was not in the power of any man or even body of men to save the life of one who had been of the party and was doomed to suffer in Williamson's stead who had escaped. He was told by the exasperated crowd 'that he came out with the worst kind of murderers.' "

The speeches made by the chiefs to Crawford are striking. I have not space sufficient to present them in full, but they can be found in Heckewelder's narrative. They cover the entire ground fully and completely; show the feeling of the non-christian Indians towards such Americans as Williamson brought along upon this expedition and refer to those of the same party who murdered the poor harmless and friendly converts at Gnadenhutten.

Judge Anderson in the January Quarterly of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society has ably presented the American side of Crawford's expedition. I am treating of the neglected Indian side. As I have frequently said throughout this report, the continued depredations committed by irresponsible whites upon the Indians — many times after peace had been

declared, or when there was no war — stirred up the natives to acts of hostility and revenge. It was the border element; those characters described by missionaries, officers, captives, travellers and historians, which heeded not whether the government in the East made treaties or declared peace, but continued to settle upon Indians' lands and to kill Indians' game and to cheat and defraud and murder and rob; it was this element, I say, which caused all the trouble. The same was true in recent times upon the western plains.

Judge Anderson's paper covers the details of the Crawford expedition so completely that it is not necessary for me to say more regarding it. I shall only sum up what Heckewelder and others have to offer as reasons for this horrible punishment.

Heckewelder was in a position to know the Indians' feelings better than any of the American officers. He had been in charge of Indian missions through all these stormy days and he was entirely familiar with hostile and friendly tribes and individuals alike. What, then, were the chief reasons for Crawford's torture?

1. He was caught in bad company; very bad company. Williamson was known to have led the whites in the Gnadenhutten massacres. Crawford was a gentleman, a brave man and one of high character. Williamson and those who were with him were not. But the savages were in no humor to distinguish between the guilty and the innocent. They wanted Williamson and not being able to seize that valiant (?) warrior, they inflicted his punishment upon poor Crawford. The Indians say that Williamson and his followers not only possessed guilty consciences, but were cowards at heart.

2. During the fight scouts visited Williamson's abandoned camp and found upon the trees, scratched with charcoal: "No quarter given to Indians, whether man, woman or child." The bark had been removed in order to obtain an even surface. They were infuriated. What would Europe think of our soldiers if, in the present Spanish war, the buildings or trees surrounding our camps should be decorated with such sentiments?

Crawford's burning is one of the worst examples of diabolical savagery to be found in history. But what shall we say of Williamson and his men — representing a "civilization and an estab-

lished government; worshippers of the true God," who would give no quarter to man, woman or child? Can we expect children of the forests to be more human than "civilized beings"?

3. The intense hatred of the Americans, fostered by the knowledge of great wrongs, etc.

The part played by Girty in this affair is well known and need not be reproduced here. The escape of Doctor Knight and the retreat of the Americans have also been frequently described. Crawford and Williamson's defeat encouraged the Indians to war upon the settlements and induced St. Clair and Harmer to march against the towns, but both were defeated. This was in 1790. Heckewelder only refers to it.

We have seen what the missionaries accomplished, and it is now time to draw that portion of my history to a close. Had they been permitted to continue their work on the Muskingum unmolested, they might have brought most of the Ohio tribes to good acts and industry. Until the Girty, Elliot, Pipe and Half King intrigues they were reverenced by every Indian nation in the state. Their success with the converts lay in this fact: they did not merely pray and preach, sing and hold services. It was a practical Christianity which they introduced. It was successful in itself, — its destruction was from without. Their's was the only highly successful mission work among the American race prior to 1800. Of the men themselves, we have no higher types in Ohio history. Noble, brave, self-sacrificing, spiritual, full of tact and wisdom, schooled in the German, English, Wyandot, Delaware and Iroquois tongues, their names are assured of perpetual fame. Both gave us much of historic, ethnologic and philologic matter. And yet against these men — pillars of righteousness and learning, full of good works — rose up those despicable inferiors and assassins who, in the end, caused their ruin. Williamson and the rest are only mentioned in history because of the odium of their acts.

A fitting memorial to these devoted and worthy men and their followers would be the erection of a simple but imposing mausoleum, in which tablets should state the names and deeds of these missionaries. Ohio is indebted to them and she should do what she can in recognition of their sacrifices.

We rather lost sight of what occurred generally in the Ohio region while speaking of the missions. The little circle of peaceful Delawares and others on the Muskingum presented the only villages whose inhabitants were not engaged in war. A fierce action in Kentucky at McClelland's Station upon Christmas day, 1776, and again on January 1, 1777, resulted in the defeat of the whites by Pluggy and his band.[63] About this time Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton appear upon the page of history. The former a pioneer and Indian fighter, the latter somewhat of a hunter and adventurer.

In October, 1778, Kenton was captured upon the Ohio river. His companion had been killed and scalped. Kenton and Montgomery were stealing horses from Chillicothe, three miles north of Xenia, Ohio. Kenton was taken to the village and compelled to run the gauntlet.[64] He was beaten with switches, and at each blow they asked him, "Steal Indian hoss, hey?" Blackfish, chief of the Shawanoes at that place, interviewed him in no polite language. He was strapped to an unbroken colt and taken to Piqua, upon Mad river, five miles west of the present city of Springfield. Then he was taken to Machack (at West Liberty) and from there to Wapatomica (near Zanesfield, in Logan county).

He was sitting upon the floor in the latter place, his face being painted black, when in marched Simon and James Girty, John Ward, and Indians with eight captives and seven scalps. Girty recognized his old time friend and interested himself in his behalf. Remarkable as the statement may appear, Girty was greatly affected by the meeting. He bought him a fine new outfit at the trader's. He interceded with the chiefs for Kenton's life with success. Some time afterwards a war party returned with the news that they had been defeated, and desiring revenge and finding a white captive in the village, they seized upon Kenton in spite of Girty's efforts. Girty took Kenton to Solomon's Town, a short distance away, where he had his lodge, but the Indians demanded that they return to Wapakoneta and appear before a large council. Kenton's heart sank as he entered the door, for

[63] McDonald's Sketches, p. 212.

[64] History of the Girtys, for all my information on Kenton, etc.

he saw about him dark and scowling faces which boded no good. All present grasped Girty's hand, but refused that of Kenton. The warriors made alternate speeches nearly all night. Girty frequently spoke with feeling of his friend, how that he had once saved his life, and that he would give any sum to have him preserved. But his speeches availed naught. The council finally decided upon Kenton's death, and Girty broke the news to him. However, Girty persuaded them to select Upper Sandusky as the point of torture, and sending word, he bribed a trader, who, in turn, offered large moneys and goods to the Indians. Thus Kenton was permitted to reach Detroit, and finally he got back to Kentucky.

In 1779 Colonel Bowman was sent against the Indians at the Mad river towns. These he destroyed, but his own troops suffered somewhat in consequence.

During this period the traders were very active stirring up the Shawanoes to hostility. Some idea of the amount of goods distributed can be had from the following:

"George Girty also acted as disbursing agent at the Shawanese towns, dealing out supplies to the Shawanese. A contemporaneous statement, as to himself and others, of goods thus furnished Indians, is extant.[65]

	£	s.	d.
Chas. Beaubein furnished goods to Indians at Miami Town	1603	8	0
Matthew Elliott in Indian country	47	6	9
Captain McKee in Indian country	835	5	6
George Girty in Indian country	72	17	0

A charge to George Girty at this period is also in existence:

	Bucks.
To salt at Shawanese towns	4
To 116 pounds of flour	14
To one bag with flour	2
To tobacco	3
	23

In 1780 the British officer Bird and Simon Girty, accompanied by seven hundred Indians, attacked Fort Liberty, Ken-

[65] History of the Girtys. Butterworth, p. 108.

tucky. They were very successful, killing numbers and taking many prisoners. There were about three hundred taken or killed in this engagement. In the same year General George Clarke attacked the Shawanee towns upon Mad river and the Little Miami. He succeeded in defeating the hostiles, but suffered considerable loss. George and James Girty took part in the defense of the towns, but in spite of their efforts the villages were burned.

In 1781 the Indian war became general in Ohio. There was not a tribe (not counting the Christian Delawares) which could be called friendly. In April of this year General Broadhead burned the town of Coshocton, killing fifteen men and taking many prisoners. The hostiles then retreated to the Scioto and Mad rivers.

The tribes sent for Joseph Brant (Thayendanega), and he came with a considerable force to coöperate with the Girtys. The combination of these forces gave Brant one of the largest Indian armies ever seen in Ohio. It presented a terrifying as well as an imposing spectacle. Eleven miles below the mouth of the Great Miami, on August 24, they encountered one wing of Clarke's army commanded by Colonel Lochry, comprising more than one hundred men, all of whom were killed or captured. They also took one of his boats and its occupants.

Simon Girty arrived from Upper Sandusky with all the men he could press into service and they awaited Clarke upon the Ohio's banks. Meantime, Brant was insulted by Girty. He promptly retaliated by drawing his sword and striking the renegade upon the head. The blow came near ending Girty's earthly career, and for weeks he was confined to his blankets. Clarke, hearing of the great force awaiting him, retreated, and the savages disbanded in disappointment. On their way home they raided such settlements as lay within easy reach.

The Half King's sons were killed by the Poes upon the Ohio. The fight of the elder Poe with these two Indians has been made famous in frontier annals. He spied the sons alone, they having left their party some miles in the woods. He conceived the plan of attacking the larger one in a hand-to-hand fight after first

shooting the smaller. The fight was a bloody one and of doubtful termination, but Poe succeeded in killing them both.

An Indian much in evidence during the war, but of whom the average student hears little, was Blue Jacket, of the Shawanoes. He held aloof from the whites, seldom coming in contact with them, save on the field.

The year 1784 found the Indians depending more upon the British, for from Canada they received better support. The Americans were desirous of effecting a general treaty and named the mouth of the Great Miami as the site. But this plan failed. Girty (Simon) was present at a great council held near Bellefontaine. It was one of the largest aboriginal meetings in Ohio. Every tribe had its representatives. Girty urged a general combination against the Americans.

Seventeen hundred and eighty-six and 1788 saw two expeditions against the Shawanoes in the Miami and Scioto regions, by officers Logan and Todd. Both were successful.

Great destruction of property along the frontier occurred during the war.

"'It appears by respectable evidence (says Rev. Mr. Harris) that from 1783 to 1790 the time that the United States commenced hostilities against the Indians, that on the Ohio and the frontiers on the south side of that river, they (the Indians) killed and wounded and took prisoners about 1500 men, women and children, besides carrying off upwards of 2,000 horses and other property to the amount of $50,000. These depredations were for the most part carried on by Indians in small war parties'"[66]

It should be nearer $500,000 from all the evidence I can collect, and yet all this was accomplished by but few Indians.

"I am of the opinion that from Braddock's war until the present time, there were never more than 3,000 Indians at any time (1799) in arms against us west of Fort Pitt, and frequently not half that number."[67] Smith records twenty-two important engagements on Ohio soil prior to 1792 in which our tribes did most of the fighting.

And now we come to the greatest aborigine of the Ohio Val-

[66] Buffalo and the Senecas, Ketchum, Vol. II, p. 4.

[67] Remarkable Occurrences, etc., James Smith, p. 155.

ley, a man whom many have placed superior to Brant (Thayendanega) and who certainly ranked not lower than second in the long list of celebrities of the American race. I refer to Tecumtha, or Tkamthi, popularly called Tecumseh. Born in 1770, he was but a youth during the period of the Revolution, yet his boyhood days were spent among scenes of activity — the coming and going of innumerable war parties, the attacks of soldiers upon his people's villages. Reared among such surroundings, hearing the beat of the war-drum from his earliest infancy, it is no wonder that he imbibed the military spirit and agreed with Thayendanega, "that he liked the music of the harp, and the organ still better, but he liked the fife and drum best of all because they made his heart beat quick."

He was no such character as Logan or Pontiac and he differed in many points from Brant and Cornstalk. There is no instance during his entire lifetime of his preserving other than a defiant attitude toward the whites. Strong in his self-reliance born of an intrepid nature, he was a moving and controlling spirit among all the tribes of the northwest. Possessing much personal magnetism he drew around him all the dissatisfied Indians. These were of all tongues and conditions, yet he moulded the whole into an effective and well-drilled army and one which was more frequently victorious than overcome.

Col. W. S. Hatch was with the Cincinnati Light Infantry in the war of 1812, and knowing much of Tecumtha he published, in 1872, "A Chapter of the War of 1812",[68] which is largely devoted to telling about Tecumtha and his brother, the prophet, he claiming to be the chosen instrument of God; their mission being "to drive the whites across the salt-sea where they belonged." Being the youngest of three brothers born at the same time, Tecumtha was considered among Indians as possessing supernatural power, for twins are not common among our aborigines, and triplets almost unknown.

"They were born in a cabin or hut, constructed of round saplings chinked with sticks and clay, near the mouth of Stillwater, on the upper point of its junction with the Great Miami,

[68] Miami Printing and Pub. Co., Cincinnati.

then a pleasant plateau of land, with a field of corn not subject to overflow.[69]

"These facts were communicated to me a short time after the council at Springfield in 1806, in the presence of Col. Robert Patterson, one of the original proprietors of Cincinnati, by Gen. Simon Kenton."[70]

His name, unlike that of other aborigines, has been nearly preserved by the interpreters, as spoken by the Shawanoes. It is exceedingly musical. I present what Professor Gatschet of the Bureau of Ethnology says regarding it.[71]

"Tecumseh's Name. — As to their origin, the personal names in use among the Shawnee or Shawano Indians are either nicknames, pet names, or totemic names. This class of names is very significative, for by their interpretation may be discovered the totemic clan to which the person bearing the name belongs. The number of Shawnee totem-clans is not very large, but of great interest, through the fact that they are all named after classes of animals, as "round-footed," "hoofed" or "split-footed," "living in the air," "inhabiting the ground," and others. When a man is named "Tight-fitting" or "Good-fit," he is known to be of the clan of the rabbit, for the fur of that animal fits very closely. A woman called "Foaming Water" will be found to belong to the turtle totem-clan, for when the turtle crosses the water bubbles arise around its pathway.

"The name of chief Tecumseh (in Shawnee Tekámthi or Tkámthi) is derived from *nili ni tkamthka*, "I cross the path or way" (of an animate being.) By this is meant that the name belongs to a totem of one of the round-footed animals, as that of the raccoon, jaguar, panther or wildcat, and not to the hoofed ones, as the deer. Tecumseh and his brothers belong to the *manctuwi msi-pessi* or "miraculous panther" totem; *msi* means great; *pishiwi*, abbreviated *pessi*, cat; both terms combined signify the panther or mountain lion.

[69] A Chapter on the War of 1812, p. 89.

[70] Hatch speaks of him as being sixteen years old at Harmar's defeat, his first participation in action. If this be true, he was born in 1775. But I am inclined to Moony's statement that 1770 is the correct date.

[71] American Anthropologist, Vol. VIII, January, 1895, p. 91.

"Tecumseh's name has been variously translated in former times as "panther-lying-in-wait," "crouching lion", and "shooting star." All these only paraphrase the meaning, but do not accurately translate or interpret the name. The adjective *manetuwi,* when it qualifies the noun *msi-pessi* as an epithet, points to a miraculous, unaccountable, even transcendental existence, and the whole must be rendered by "celestial lion" which is a meteor or shooting-star. The *manetuwi msi-pessi* lives in water only and is not visible as an animal, but only as a meteor, exceeding in size and brilliancy all the other shooting-stars. It was the totemic emblem of a Shawnee clan, and the members of this clan, to which Tecumseh or Tkámthi belonged, were consequently classed as the descendants of a round or claw-footed progenitor.

"The quick motion of a meteor was evidently likened to that of a lion or wildcat springing upon its prey, and the yellow color of both may have made the comparison more effective. All over America the natives suppose these celestial bodies to be the souls of the dead, and as they travel mainly in a westerly direction they are believed to return to their western abode. In the west lies the Pacific ocean; therefore the tribes west of the Rocky mountains think the souls are returning to that great aquatic world. To all primitive people the home of the deceased lies in the west, for there set the celestial bodies which represent the souls of the departed ones."

The idea of a prophet who preached a return to aboriginal customs is not new in Indian history. Such an one appeared in 1762 at Tuscarawas on the Muskingum, another at Cuyahoga in the same year. John McCullough, a captive for many years, gives us an account of their doctrines. Several have risen up in modern times, notably in 1890 at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, on the Ogallala Sioux reservation. Eenskwatawa, Tecumtha's brother, began his studies for the office of shaman or priest, while the warrior was yet young.

Little is heard of the mighty warrior until at Harmar's defeat in '91. He was at that time a young man. It is related that

upon seeing his brother fall, he fled from the field.[72] Be that as it may, no less a character than Thayendanega in his first battle "trembled so that he took hold of a sapling for support." And it is not to Tecumtha's discredit, for some of our bravest officers in the late civil war upon going into action for the first time exhibited cowardice. Of Harmar's expedition Hatch says:[73]

"He marched with three hundred and twenty regulars from Fort Washington (Cincinnati) on the 30th of September, 1791, with orders to destroy all the Shawnee villages on the Scioto and then unite with the troops from Kentucky, then on the Wabash, and advance to the Miami of Lake Erie destroying all Indian villages on the upper and headwaters of the Great Miami, the St. Mary's and wherever found by the combined forces.

"He advanced northward about twenty-five miles to a position on the Great Miami at which Fort Hamilton was established the following year by Gen. St. Clair, and there united with the volunteer militia troops from Kentucky and Pennsylvania, who had as the main part of his army already moved in advance, those from Kentucky being under the command of Gen. Hardin; his entire combined force amounting to 1453 men. After bringing on supplies, he moved northeastwardly upon the chief town of the Shawnees, Chillicothe." This was three miles north of Xenia, and had been largely reinforced since the abandonment of the older towns upon the Scioto. "This celebrated town was on an eminence fronting and overlooking the rich meadows of the Little Miami. Its remains I examined as early as 1806 at which time numerous articles of Indian construction and use, stone battle-axes, arrow-heads, and various other things were scattered over the ground.

"On Harmar's approach he found the smoking ruins of a burned and abandoned village; not an Indian to be seen. They had sacrificed their 'Moscow' and retired ten miles in the direction of the confluence of the Mad River and the Great Miami; took up an advantageous position and awaited Harmar's movements, who played into their hands by sending a small detach-

[72] James Mooney, in The Ghost Dance Religion, says Tecumtha's brother was killed in 1794 at Wayne's Victory.

[73] A Chapter on the War of 1812, Hatch, p. 93.

ment under Gen. Hardin of but two hundred and ten men to attack them. This little detachment they cut to pieces. Harmar then sent his forces to the Scioto who destroyed without resistance their towns and their crops on the borders of that stream; when, as he alleged, having lost several of his horses, he abandoned the idea of joining the Kentucky forces on the Wabash and broke up camp in order to return to Fort Washington; but as he had not at this time become possessed of his brilliant ideas in regard to 'victories', 'he felt desirious', as he said, 'of wiping off in another action the disgrace which his arms had sustained.' He halted about eight miles from his camp (the ruins of Chillicothe) late at night, and again detached Gen. Hardin with but 360 men to find the enemy and bring him to action. Early the next morning that intrepid and brave officer reached the confluence of Mad river and the Great Miami, where he found the Indians in great force; who with skillful maneuvres brought him within their lines, when his little detachment was, as in the case of the first, overwhelmed and nearly all destroyed. The skeleton of Hardin's little force regained headquarters."

Harmar retreated to Fort Washington. It was in the second engagement that Tecumtha participated.

The year following, Gen. Arthur St. Clair marched against these same Indians, and also the Delawares, Wyandots and Miamis. His utter defeat, and the outrages committed upon his fleeing forces, are well known to all readers, having been published scores of times, and it is therefore not necessary for me to give the particulars here.[74] Elliot and McKee were both present. Tecumtha was yet young, but it is supposed that he distinguished himself. St. Clair's defeat has always been charged to poor generalship. The numbers and quality of the troops gave assurance of success: but defeat came.

General Anthony Wayne conducted a vigorous campaign in 1794. He marched northward from Fort Washington in August and at the rapids of the Maumee, on the 20th, he completely routed the allied tribes, with great slaughter. They called Wayne

[74] Smith says: "It is said that there was more of our men killed at this defeat than there were in any one battle during our contest with Great Britain."

Sukach-gook, a black snake, "for", said they, "he possessed all the art and cunning of that reptile."

I now turn to the period of Tecumtha's greatest activity. Professor James Mooney has published a magnificent memoir upon the Ghost-Dance Religion. His researches, both historical and ethnological, cover in detail all the characters and events of the last Ohio Indian war. I use much of his material relating to Tecumtha and his brother, the prophet.[75]

Of the events just prior to the war of 1812 Professor Mooney says: "Under the able leadership of Little Turtle they[76] twice rolled back the tide of white invasion, defeating two of the finest armies ever sent into the western country, until, worn out by twenty years of unceasing warfare, and crushed and broken by the decisive victory of Wayne at the Fallen Timbers, their villages in ashes and their cornfields cut down, the dispirited chiefs met their conqueror at Greenville in 1795 and signed away the rights for which they had so long contended.

"By this treaty, which marks the beginning of the end with the eastern tribes, the Indians renounced their claims to all territory east of a line running in a general way from the mouth of the Cuyahoga on Lake Erie to the mouth of the Kentucky on the Ohio, leaving to the whites the better portion of the Ohio Valley, including their favorite hunting ground of Kentucky. The Delaware, the Wyandot and the Shawano, three of the leading tribes, were almost completely shorn of their ancient inheritance and driven back as refugees among the Miami."

"The Canadian boundary had been established along the lakes; the Ohio was lost to the Indians; for them there was left only extermination or removal to the west. Their bravest warriors were slain. Their ablest chieftain, who had led them to victory against St. Clair, had bowed to the inevitable, and was now regarded as one with a white man's heart and a traitor to his race. A brooding dissatisfaction settled down on the tribes. Who shall deliver them from the desolation that has come on them?

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[75] Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology. James Mooney on the Ghost Dance Religion, pp. 622 to 700.

[76] The Ohio Tribes.

"Now arose among the Shawano another prophet to point out to his people the 'open door' leading to happiness. In November, 1805, a young man named Laulewasikaw (Lalewethika, a rattle or similar instrument — Gatschet), then hardly more than thirty years of age, called around him his tribesmen and their allies at their ancient capital of Wapakoneta, within the present limits of Ohio, and there announced himself as the bearer of a new revelation from the Master of Life, who had taken pity on his red children and wished to save them from the threatened destruction. He declared that he had been taken up to the spirit world and had been permitted to lift the veil of the past and the future — had seen the misery of evil doers and learned the happiness that awaited those who followed the precepts of the Indian god. He then began an earnest exhortation, denouncing the witchcraft practices and medicine juggleries of the tribe, and solemnly warning his hearers that none who had part in such things would ever taste of the future happiness. The fire-water of the whites was poison and accursed; and those who continued its use would after death be tormented with all the pains of fire, while flames would continually issue from their mouths. This idea may have been derived from some white man's teaching or from the Indian practice of torture by fire. The young must cherish and respect the aged and infirm. All property must be in common, according to the ancient law of their ancestors. Indian women must cease to intermarry with white men; the two races were distinct and must remain so. The white man's dress, with his flint-and-steel, must be discarded, for the old time buckskin and the firestick. More than this, every tool and every custom derived from the whites must be put away, and they must return to the methods which the Master of Life had taught them. When they should do all this, he promised that they would again be taken into the divine favor, and find the happiness which their fathers had known before the coming of the whites. Finally, in proof of his divine mission, he announced that he had received power to cure all diseases and to arrest the hand of death in sickness or on the battle-field.

Drake, in his aboriginal races, and many writers refer to

the influence of this man. An intense excitement prevailed. Drunkenness ceased, dogs were killed, fire was made with bow-drill or by rubbing sticks, guns discarded and people gave themselves up to prayers and fastings. His oft-repeated remark was, 'I told all the redskins that the way they were in was not good, and that they ought to abandon it.'

"The prophet now changed his name to Tenskwatawa, 'The Open Door' (from *skwa'te*, a door, and *the'nui*, to be open; frequently spelled Elskwatawa,) significant of the new mode of life which he had come to point out to his people, and fixed his headquarters at Greenville, Ohio, where representatives from the various scattered tribes of the northwest gathered about him to learn the new doctrines. Some, especially the Kickapoo, entered fervently into his spirit, while others were disposed to oppose him. The Miami, who regarded the Shawano as intruders, were jealous of his influence, and the chiefs of his own tribe were somewhat inclined to consider him in the light of a rival. To establish his sacred character and to dispel the doubts of the unbelievers, he continued to dream dreams and announce wonderful revelations from time to time, when an event occurred which eventually silenced opposition and stamped him as one inspired.[77]

"By some means he had learned that an eclipse of the sun was to take place in the summer of 1806. As the time drew near he called about him the scoffers and boldly announced that on a certain day he would prove to them his supernatural authority by causing the sun to become dark. When the day and hour arrived and the earth at midday was enveloped in the gloom of twilight, Tenskwatawa, standing in the midst of the terrified Indians, pointed to the sky and cried: 'Did I not speak the truth? See, the sun is dark!' There were no more doubters now. All proclaimed him a true prophet and the messenger of the Master of Life. His fame spread abroad and apostles began to carry his revelations to the remotest tribes."

John Tanner, a captive among the Ojibeways, heard of this Shawanoe prophet. Mooney quotes his observations in full.

Inflamed by the new doctrine, conscious of the wrongs done them and their fathers, it is no wonder that the Indians seized

[77] Continued quotation from Mooney's Ghost-Dance Religion.

upon it as a means of salvation. Tecumtha may or may not have believed it — for authorities differ on this point — but it is certain he was conscious of a great opportunity and availed himself of it. He preached the doctrine of *arms* rather than that of prayer or pennance.

"These lands are ours. No one has a right to remove us, because we were the first owners." — Tecumtha to Wells, 1807.[78] "The Great Spirit gave this great island to his red children. He placed the whites on the other side of the big water. They were not contented with their own, but came to take ours from us. They have driven us from the sea to the lakes — we can go no farther." — Tecumtha, 1810.

"And now we begin to hear of the prophet's brother, Tecumtha, the most heroic character in Indian history. Tecumtha, 'The Meteor,' was the son of a chief and the worthy scion of a warrior race. His tribe, the Shawano, made it their proud boast that they of all tribes had opposed the most determined resistance to the encroachments of the whites. His father had fallen under the bullets of the Virginians while leading his warriors at the bloody battle of Point Pleasant in 1774. His eldest and dearest brother had lost his life in an attack on a southern frontier post, and another had been killed while fighting by his side at Wayne's victory in 1794. What wonder that the young Tecumtha declared that his flesh crept at the sight of a white man!

"But his was no mean spirit of personal revenge; his mind was too noble for that. He hated the whites as the destroyers of his race, but prisoners and the defenseless knew well that they could rely on his honor and humanity and were safe under his protection. When only a boy — for his military career began in childhood — he had witnessed the burning of a prisoner, and the spectacle was so abhorrent to his feelings that by an earnest and eloquent harangue he induced the party to give up the practice forever. In later years his name was accepted by helpless women and children as a guarantee of protection even in the midst of hostile Indians. Of commanding figure, nearly six feet in height and compactly built; of dignified bearing and piercing

[78] The Ghost-Dance Religion, Mooney, p. 681.

eye, before whose lightning even a British general quailed; with the fiery eloquence of a Clay and the clear-cut logic of a Webster; abstemious in habit, charitable in thought and action, brave as a lion, but humane and generous withal — in a word, an aboriginal knight — his life was given to his people, and he fell at last, like his father and his brothers before him, in battle with the destroyers of his nation, the champion of a lost cause and a dying race.

"As a basal proposition, Tecumtha claimed that the Greenville treaty, having been forced on the Indians, was invalid; that the only true boundary was the Ohio, as established in 1768, and that all future cessions must have the sanction of all the tribes claiming rights in that region.

"By this time there were assembled at Greenville to listen to the teachings of the prophet hundreds of savages, representing all the widely extended tribes of the lake region and the northwest, all wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement over the prospect of a revival of the old Indian life and the perpetuation of aboriginal sovereignty.

"In the spring of 1807 it was estimated that at Fort Wayne fifteen hundred Indians had recently passed that post on their way to visit the prophet, while councils were constantly being held and runners were going from tribe to tribe with pipes and belts of wampum. It was plain that some uncommon movement was going on among them, and it was also evident that the British agents had a hand in keeping up the excitement. The government became alarmed, and the crisis came when an order was sent from the President to Tecumtha at Greenville to remove his party beyond the boundary of 1795 (the Greenville treaty). Trembling with excitement, Tecumtha arose and addressed his followers in a passionate speech, dwelling on the wrongs of the Indians and the continued encroachments of the whites. Then turning to the messenger, he said: 'These lands are ours. No one has a right to remove us, because we were the first owners. The Great Spirit above has appointed this place for us, on which to light our fires, and here we will remain. As to boundaries, the Great Spirit above knows no boundaries, nor will his red children acknowledge any.' (Drake, Tecumseh, 3.) From this

time it was understood that the Indians were preparing to make a final stand for the valley of the Ohio. The prophet continued to arouse their enthusiasm by his inspired utterances, while Tecumtha became the general and active organizer of the warriors. At a conference with the governor of Ohio in the autumn of 1807, he fearlessly denied the validity of the former treaties, and declared his intention to resist the further extension of the white settlements on Indian lands.

"The next spring great numbers of Indians came down from the lakes to visit Tecumtha and his brother, who, finding their following increasing so rapidly, accepted an invitation fom the Potawatami and Kickapoo, and removed their headquarters to a more central location on the Wabash. The Delaware and Miami, who claimed precedence in that region and who had all along opposed the prophet and Tecumtha, protested against this move, but without effect. The new settlement, which was on the western bank of the river, just below the mouth of the Tippecanoe, was known to the Indians as Kehtipaquononk, 'the great clearing,' and was an old and favorite location with them. It had been the site of a large Shawano village which had been destroyed by the Americans in 1791, and some years later the Potawatomi had rebuilt upon the same place, to which they now invited the disciples of the new religion. The whites had corrupted the name to Tippecanoe, and it now generally became known as the Prophet's town.

"Nothing else of moment occurred during this year, but it was learned that Tecumtha contemplated visiting the southern tribes in the near future to enlist them also in his confederacy. In 1809, however, rumors of an approaching outbreak began to fill the air, and it was evident that the British were instigating the Indians to mischief in anticipation of a war between England and the United States. Just at this juncture the anger of Tecumtha's party was still further inflamed by the negotiation of treaties with four tribes, by which additional large tracts were ceded in Indiana and Illinois. The Indians now refused to buy ammunition from the American traders, saying that they could obtain all they wanted for nothing in another quarter. In view of the signs of increasing hostility, General Harrison was author-

ized to take such steps as might be necessary to protect the frontier. Tecumtha had now gained over the Wyandotte, the most influential tribe of the Ohio region, the keepers of the great wampum belt of union and the lighters of the council fires of the allied tribes. Their example was speedily followed by the Miami, whose adhesion made the tribes of the Ohio and the lakes practically unanimous. The prophet now declared that he would follow in the steps of Pontiac and called on the remote tribes to assist those on the border to roll back the tide which would otherwise overwhelm them all. In return the Sauk and Fox sent word that they were ready whenever he should say the word.

"In the summer of 1810, according to a previous arrangement, Tecumseh, attended by several hundred warriors, descended the river to Vincennes to confer with General Harrison on the situation. The conference began on the fifteenth of August and lasted three days. Tecumtha reiterated his former claims, saying that in uniting the tribes he was endeavoring to dam the mighty water that was ready to overflow his people. The Americans had driven the Indian from the sea and threatened to push them into the lakes; and, although he disclaimed any intention of making war against the United States, he declared his fixed resolution to insist on the old boundary and to oppose the further intrusion of the whites on the lands of the Indians, and to resist the survey of the lands recently ceded. He was followed by chiefs of five different tribes, each of whom in turn declared that he would support the principles of Tecumtha. Harrison replied that the government would never admit that any section belonged to all the Indians in common, and that, having bought the ceded lands from the tribes who were first found in possession of them, it would defend its title by arms. To this Tecumtha said he preferred to be on the side of the Americans, and that if his terms were conceded, he would bring his forces to the aid of the United States in the war which he knew was soon to break out with England, but that otherwise he would be compelled to join the British. The governor replied that he would state the case to the President, but that it was altogether unlikely that he would consent to the conditions. Recognizing the inevitable, Tecumtha

expressed the hope that, as the President was to determine the matter, the Great Spirit would put sense into his head to induce him to give up the lands, adding: 'It is true he is so far off he will not be injured by the war. He may sit in his town and drink his wine, while you and I will have to fight it out.' The governor then requested, that in the event of an Indian war, Tecumtha would use his influence to prevent the practice of cruelties on women and children and defenseless prisoners. To this he readily agreed, and the promise was faithfully kept. (Drake, Tecumseh, 4.)

"The conference had ended with a tacit understanding that war must come, and both sides began to prepare for the struggle. Soon after it was learned that the prophet had sent belts to the tribes west of the Mississippi, inviting them to join in a war against the United States. Outrages on the Indians by settlers intensified the hostile feeling, and the Delawares refused to give up a murderer until some of the whites, who had killed their people, were first punished. Harrison himself states that the Indians could rarely obtain satisfaction for the most unprovoked wrongs. In another letter he says that Tecumtha 'has taken for his model the celebrated Pontiac, and I am persuaded he will bear a favorable comparison in every respect to that far-famed warrior.'

" 'The implicit obedience and respect which the followers of Tecumseh pay to him is really astounding, and more than any other circumstance bespeaks him one of those uncommon geniuses which springs up occasionally to produce revolutions and overturn the established order of things. If it were not for the vicinity of the United States, he would perhaps be the founder of an empire that would rival in glory Mexico or Peru. No difficulties deter him. For four years he has been in constant motion. You see him today on the Wabash, and in a short time hear of him on the shores of Lake Erie or Michigan or on the banks of the Mississippi, and wherever he goes he makes an impression favorable to his purposes. He is now upon the last round, to put a finishing stroke to his work. I hope, however, before his return, that that part of the fabric which he considered complete will

be demolished, and even its foundation rooted up.' (Drake, Tecumseh, 5.)"

At this same conference Tecumtha said "in answer to a question on the subject by the General, he asserted his policy openly and fully, that he was forming a grand confederacy of all the nations and tribes of Indians upon the continent, for the purpose of putting a stop to the encroachments of the white people; and in his argument in defense of his course, said, that 'the policy which the United States pursued of purchasing in unceasing detail their lands from the separate Indian tribes, he viewed as a mighty water, ready to overflow his people, and that the confederacy which he was forming among the tribes to prevent any individual tribe from selling without the consent of the others, was the dam he was erecting to resist this mighty water.'"[79]

"On this trip Tecumseh went as far as Florida and engaged the Seminole for his confederacy. Then, retracing his steps into Alabama, he came to the ancient Creek town of Tukabachi, on the Tallapoosa, near the present site of Montgomery. What happened here is best told in the words of McKenney and Hall, who derived their information from Indians at the same town a few years later."

Tecumtha next visited the Creeks.[80] "He explained his object, delivered his war talk, presented a bundle of sticks, gave a piece of wampum and a war hatchet — all which the Big Warrior took — when Tecumtha, reading the spirit and intentions of the Big Warrior, looked him in the eye, and, pointing his finger toward his face, said: 'Your blood is white. You have taken my talk, and my sticks, and the wampum, and the hatchet, but you do not mean to fight. I know the reason. You do not believe the Great Spirit has sent me. You shall know. I leave Tuckhabatchee directly, and shall go straight to Detroit. When I arrive there, I will stamp the ground with my foot and shake down every house in Tuckhabatchee.' So saying, he turned and left the Big Warrior in utter amazement at both his manner and his threat, and pursued his journey. The Indians were struck no less with his conduct than was the Big Warrior, and began

[79] A Chapter of the War of 1812, p. 111.

[80] All this matter is taken from Mooney's Ghost-Dance Religion.

to dread the arrival of the day when the threatened calamity would befall them. They met often and talked over this matter, and counted the days carefully to know the day when Tecumtha would reach Detroit. The morning they had fixed as the day of his arrival at last came. A mighty rumbling was heard — the Indians all ran out of their houses — the earth began to shake; when at last, sure enough, every house in Tuckhabatchee was shaken down. The exclamation was in every mouth, 'Tecumtha has got to Detroit!' The effect was electric. The message he had delivered to the Big Warrior was believed, and many of the Indians took their rifles and prepared for the war. The reader will not be surprised to learn that an earthquake had produced all this; but he will be, doubtless, that it should happen on the very same day on which Tecumtha arrived at Detroit, and in exact fulfillment of his threat. It was the famous earthquake of New Madrid on the Mississippi. (McKenney and Hall, 1.)

"The fire thus kindled among the Creek by Tecumtha was fanned into a blaze by the British and Spanish traders until the opening of the war of 1812 gave the opportunity for the terrible outbreak known in history as the Creek war.

"While Tecumtha was absent in the south, affairs were rapidly approaching a crisis on the Wabash. The border settlers demanded the removal of the prophet's followers, stating in their memorial to the President that they were 'fully convinced that the formation of this combination headed by the Shawano prophet was a British scheme, and that the agents of that power were constantly exciting the Indians to hostility against the United States.' Governor Harrison now sent messages to the different tribes earnestly warning them of the consequences of a hostile outbreak, but about the same time the prophet himself announced that he had now taken up the tomahawk against the United States, and would only lay it down with his life, unless the wrongs of the Indians were redressed. It was known, also that he was arousing his followers to a feverish pitch of excitement by the daily practice of mystic rites.

"Harrison now determined to break up the prophet's camp. Accordingly, at the head of about nine hundred men, including

about two hundred and fifty regulars, he marched from Vincennes on the 5th of November, 1811, encamped within a few miles of the prophet's town. The Indians had fortified the place with great care and labor. It was sacred to them as the spot where the rites of the new religion had been so long enacted, and by these rites they believed it had been rendered impregnable to the attacks of the white man. The next day he approached still nearer, and was met by messengers from the town, who stated that the prophet was anxious to avoid hosilities and had already sent a pacific message by several chiefs, who had unfortunately gone down on the other side of the river and thus had failed to find the general. A truce was accordingly agreed on until the next day, when terms of peace were to be arranged between the governor and the chiefs. The army encamped on a spot pointed out by the Indians, an elevated piece of ground rising out of a marshy prairie, within a mile of the town. Although Harrison did not believe the Indians would make a night attack, yet as a precaution he had his troops sleep on their arms in order of battle.

"At four o'clock in the morning of the 7th Governor Harrison, according to his practice, had arisen preparatory to the calling up the troops, and was engaged, while drawing on his boots by the fire, in conversation with General Wells, Colonel Owen and Majors Taylor and Hurst. The orderly drum had been roused for the purpose of giving the signal for the troops to turn out, when the attack of the Indians suddenly commenced upon the left flank of the camp. The whole army was instantly on its feet, the camp fires were extinguished, the governor mounted his horse and proceeded to the point of attack. Several of the companies had taken their places in the line within forty seconds from the report of the first gun, and the whole of the troops were prepared for action in the course of two minutes, a fact as creditable to their own activity and bravery, as to the skill and bravery of their officers. The battle soon became general and was maintained on both sides with signal and even desperate valor. The Indians advanced and retreated by the aid of a rattling noise, made with deer hoofs, and persevered in their treacherous attack with an apparent determination to conquer

or die upon the spot. The battle raged with unabated fury and mutual slaughter until daylight, when a gallant and successful charge by our troops drove the enemy into the swamp and put an end to the conflict.

"Prior to the assault the prophet had given assurances to his followers that in the coming contest the Great Spirit would render the arms of the Americans unavailing; that their bullets would fall harmless at the feet of the Indians; that the latter should have light in abundance, while the former would be involved in thick darkness. Availing himself of the privilege conferred by his peculiar office, and perhaps unwilling in his own person to attest at once the rival powers of a sham prophecy and a real American bullet, he prudently took a position on an adjacent eminence, and when the action began, he entered upon the performance of certain mystic rites, at the same time singing a war song. In the course of the engagement he was informed that his men were falling. He told them to fight on, it would soon be as he had predicted. And then, in louder and wilder strains, his inspiring battle song was heard commingling with the sharp crack of the rifle and the shrill war whoop of his brave but deluded followers. (Drake, Tecumseh, 6.)

"Drake estimates the whole number of Indians engaged in the battle at between eight hundred and one thousand, representing all the principal tribes of the region, and puts the killed at probably not less than fifty, with an unusually large proportion of wounded. Harrison's estimate would seem to put the numbers much higher. The Americans lost sixty killed or mortally wounded, and one hundred and eighty-eight in all. (Drake, Tecumseh, 7.) In their hurried retreat the Indians left a large number of dead on the field. Believing on the word of the prophet that they would receive supernatural aid from above, they fought with desperate bravery, and their defeat completely disheartened them. They at once abandoned their town and dispersed, each to his own tribe. Tecumtha's great fabric was indeed demolished, and even its foundations rooted up.

"The night before the engagement the prophet had performed some medicine rites by virtue of which he had assured his followers that half of the soldiers were already dead and the

other half bereft of their senses, so that the Indians would have but little to do but rush into their camp and finish them with the hatchet. The result infuriated the savages. They refused to listen to the excuses which are always ready to the tongue of the unsuccessful medicine-man, denounced him as a liar, and even threatened him with death. Deserted by all but a few of his own tribe, warned away from several villages toward which he turned his steps, he found refuge at last among a small band of Wyandotte; but his influence and his sacred prestige were gone forever, and he lived out his remaining days in the gloom of obscurity."

"From the south Tecumtha returned through Missouri, Iowa, and Illinois, everywhere making accessions to his cause, but reached the Wabash at last, just a few days after the battle, only to find his followers scattered to the four winds, his brother a refugee and the great object of his life — a confederation of all the tribes — brought to nothing. His grief and disappointment were bitter. He reproached his brother in unmeasured terms for disobeying his instructions to preserve peace in his absence, and when the prophet attempted to reply, it is said Tecumtha so far forgot his dignity as to seize his brother by the hair and give him a violent shaking, threatening to take his life.

"Early in 1812 Tecumtha sent a message to Governor Harrison, informing him of his return from the south, and stating that he was now ready to make the proposed visit to the President. To this Harrison replied, giving his permission, but refusing to allow any party to accompany him. This stipulation did not please the great leader, who had been accustomed to the attendance of a retinue of warriors wherever he went. He declined the terms, and thus terminated his intercourse with the governor. In June, 1812, he visited the agent at Fort Wayne, and there reiterated the justice of his position in regard to the ownership of the Indian lands, again disclaimed having had any intention of making war against the United States, and reproached Harrison for marching against his people in his absence. In return, the agent endeavored to persuade him now to join forces with the United States in the approaching conflict with England. "Tecumtha listened with frigid indifference,

made a few general remarks in reply, and then with a haughty air left the council house and took his departure for Malden, where he joined the British standard. (Drake, Tecumseh, 8.) His subsequent career is a part of the history of the war of 1812.

"Formal declaration of war against Great Britain was made by the United States on June 18, 1812. Tecumtha was already at Malden, the British headquarters on the Canadian side, and when invited by some friendly Indians to attend a council near Detroit in order to make arrangements for remaining neutral, he sent back word that he had taken sides with the king, and that his bones would bleach on the Canadian shore before he would recross the river to join in any council of neutrality. A few days later he led the Indians into battle on the British side. For his services at Maguaga he was soon after regularly commissioned a brigadier-general in the British army.

"We pass over the numerous events of this war — Maguaga, the Raisin, Fort Meigs, Perry's victory, — as being outside the scope of our narrative, and come to the battle of the Thames, October 5th, 1813, the last ever fought by Tecumtha. After Perry's decisive victory on the lake, Proctor hastily prepared to retreat into the interior, despite the earnest protests of Tecumtha, who charged him with cowardice, an imputation which the British general did not dare to resent. The retreat was begun with Harrison in close pursuit, until the British and Indians reached a spot on the north bank of the Thames, in the vicinity of the present Chatham, Ontario. Here, finding the ground favorable for defense, Tecumtha resolved to retreat no farther, and practically compelled Proctor to make a stand. The Indian leader had no hope of triumph in the issue. His sun had gone down, and he felt himself already standing in the shadow of death. He was done with life, and desired only to close it, as became a warrior, striking a last blow against the hereditary enemy of his race. When he had posted his men, he called his chiefs about him and calmly said, 'Brother warriors, we are now about to enter into an engagement from which I shall never come out — my body will remain on the field of battle.' He then unbuckled his sword, and, placing it in the hands of one of them, said,

'When my son becomes a noted warrior and able to wield a sword, give this to him.' He then laid aside his British military dress and took his place in the line, clothed only in the ordinary deerskin hunting shirt. (Drake, Tecumseh, 9.) When the battle began, his voice was heard encouraging his men until he fell under the cavalry charge of the Americans, who had already broken the ranks of the British regulars and forced them to surrender. Deprived of their leader and deserted by their white allies, the Indians gave up the unequal contest and fled from the field. Tecumtha died in his forty-fourth year.

"After the close of the war the prophet returned from Canada by permission of this government and rejoined his tribe in Ohio, with whom he removed to the west in 1827. (Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, 2.) Catlin, who met and talked with him in 1832, thus speaks of him:

" 'This, no doubt, has been a very shrewd and influential man, but circumstances have destroyed him, as they have many other great men before him, and he now lives respected, but silent and melancholy in his tribe. I conversed with him a great deal about his brother Tecumseh, of whom he spoke frankly, and seemingly with great pleasure; but of himself and his own great schemes he would say nothing. He told me that Tecumseh's plans were to embody all the Indian tribes in a grand confederacy, from the province of Mexico to the Great Lakes, to unite their forces in an army that would be able to meet and drive back the white people, who were continually advancing on the Indian tribes and forcing them from their lands toward the Rocky mountains; that Tecumseh was a great general, and that nothing but his premature death defeated his plan. (Catlin, 2.)' "

It seems that Red Jacket of the Six Nations was opposed to the war. He said in a letter to the Secretary of War that the Seneca chiefs had tried "to dissuade Tecumtha from a farther prosecution of his designs."[81] Their peaceful counsels were of no avail.

[81] So-go-ye-wat-ha, or Red Jacket. Wm. L. Stone, Albany, 1866, p. 300.

Some years before this (1798) he had gone to Ohio upon such a mission.

"The hostile Indians were met in council by Red Jacket and his associates at the Auglaize on the Miami river of Lake Erie, but were found in a most implacable humor.[82] In his anxiety for a specification the President had sent other messengers of peace to traverse the Wabash country, among whom were the Rev. Mr. Heckewelder, Gen. Rufus Putnam, Col. Hardin, Maj. Truman and another officer named Freeman. The last mentioned three of these messengers had been intercepted and murdered. The hostile council was large and no white man save Simon Girty was admitted. The Shawnees were the only speakers on behalf of the hostile chiefs, and Red Jacket alone was allowed to open his lips on behalf of the pacificators." Heckewelder says that Girty was dressed as an Indian and had a long quill run through his nose.

In 1806 a council was held at Springfield. Tarfee, the Crane, was principal chief of the Wyandots at that time and had been a signer to the Greenville treaty. He commenced the ceremony, all the aborigines being seated in a semi-circle in front of the agent's stand.

"All was apparently going on satisfactorily, when Tecumtha arose and commenced his address; he continued his oration for three hours; commencing with the first aggressions of the white men, and bringing down his traditional history from the first settlement at Plymouth and Jamestown to his own time. The effect of his bitter, burning words of eloquence was so great on his companions, that the whole three hundred could hardly refrain from springing from their seats. Their eyes flashed, and even the most aged, many of whom were smoking, evinced the greatest excitement. The orator appeared in all the power of a fiery and impassioned speaker and actor.

"At the conclusion of his address, Tecumtha stood for a moment, turned his back upon the agent's stand, and walking to

[82] Ibid, p. 198.

[83] History of the War of 1812. Colonel W. S. Hatch, Cincinnati, 1872. P. 99.

the circle opposite, took his seat among the young braves, glancing with lofty pride upon the agents."

The interpreter had honor enough to confess that he could not properly translate the address; it was too grand and lofty and beyond his full understanding.

There is a tradition — and I only give it as such, although it is characteristic of the man — that at the Springfield meeting the agents were seated upon a platform, and wishing to show Tecumtha respect, they invited him at the conclusion of his speech, to sit with them. He understood English fairly, and seeing an opportunity to bring his remarks to a dramatic close, he strode toward his young men. Having reached the circle, he whirled about, and pointing upward, exclaimed, "The sun is my father", and then downward, "the Earth is my mother; upon her bosom will I repose," and seated himself among his warriors.

August 16th, 1812, Detroit was surrendered by Gen. Hull to Gen. Brook. Tecumtha was present with six hundred men to coöperate with the British in case of battle being offered. On the 9th he had been compelled to retreat after a sharp action with a superior force. The Americans lost sixty-eight men, the Indians escaped with but few casualties. He was now chiefly about Malta or in the camps.

When Harrison advanced to Fort Meigs and fortified himself, Tecumtha sent his famous challenge. He had "Eight hundred of the most valiant of whom were well mounted; the principal officers armed with carbine rifles, pistols, tomahawk and knife, at whose head he, with ever attending suit of young braves, the sons of the principal warriors, rode up the line of the Maumee, challenging General Harrison to come out of Fort Meigs and give him battle.[84]

'General Harrison:

I have with me eight hundred braves. You have an equal number in your hiding place. Come out with them and give me battle; you talk like a brave when we met at Vincennes, and I respected you; but now you hide behind logs and in the earth like a ground hog. Give me an answer.

Tecumtha.'"

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[84] Hatch, p. 115.

When General Harrison was besieged in Fort Meigs, General Clay Greene advanced to his support with about eight hundred men. Supposing that the enemy had fled, and seeing a few Indians ahead of them, they charged with more impetuosity than caution. "This was a strategem of Tecumtha's; his Indians appeared frightened, ran on before the Kentucky volunteers; the road leading through a thick wood, * * * keeping up a scattering fire, so as to lead on their enemy.[85]

"Tecumseh, in this manner, drew the whole regiment along between two columns or files of his warriors, posted on each side of the road, on the ground, behind trees and logs. When all were within his ambuscade, on the instant that his signal was given, the columns closed on Dudley's regiment; he was slain; all except about one hundred and fifty men were prisoners. Tecumtha turned them over to General Proctor. That individual permitted the more worthless element among the savages to plunder and shoot down a number of them. Hearing of this, Tecumtha dashed at full speed down the road with his sword drawn, and riding up to these miscreants, with the appearance of the greatest rage, struck them over the heads and shoulders, with the flat of his sword, exclaiming, 'are there no men here?' The English officer informing me of this incident said, 'he was the maddest looking man I ever saw, his eyes shot fire, he was terrible.'"

In 1813 when Harrison entered Canada for the second time, Tecumtha called upon Proctor. He had a scheme which might have been successful if attempted. At Amherstburg, where the Harrison forces would land, was an extensive forest fronting a high bank and deep water. It was an admirable place for an Indian ambuscade. If the British and Indians were driven from this position they could take another farther along the Thames.

"These views, however correct and sound, met with no response from General Proctor.[86] He, on the contrary, ordered a rapid flight. Tecumtha rose abruptly to his feet, dashed his sword violently upon the table, and in a great rage denounced

[85] Hatch, p. 145.

[86] Hatch, p. 119.

Protor as a coward, 'a miserable old squaw', turned upon his heel and left the room.

"Harrison appreciated the soundness of these views as well as the talent and judgment of Tecumtha, if Proctor did not. In his communication to the governor of Ohio, dated at Detroit, October 11th, 1813, six days after the battle of the Thames, he says:

"'Nothing but infatuation could have governed General Proctor's conduct. The day that I landed below Malden, he had at his disposal upwards of three thousand Indians. The Indians were extremely desirous of fighting us at Malden. I enclose you Tecumtha's communication or speech to Proctor. It is at once the evidence of the talents of the former, and the great defect of them in the latter.'"

I have quoted Professor Mooney on the battle of the Thames and it is not necessary to add much more. The great Shawanoe knew he must depend upon his own warriors. Proctor surrendered early in the engagement. Tecumtha and his men realized the inevitable, yet they hardened their hearts and withstood the shock. But the Americans were too strong and so perished the flower of the Shawano nation. They never again met the whites in battle.

Nothing is absolutely known regarding Tecumtha's death beyond the fact that he fell. Claims that this or that officer engaged him in single combat are absurd and have no foundation in history.

Colonel Richard M. Johnson did not kill Tecumtha in the battle of the Thames. The warrior whom he slew by discharging his pistol, was too large, and too tall, and too dark; moreover, he had black eyes.

"There is one thing certain, and that is, if Tecumtha had been shot down, whether dead or alive, his body would have been borne from the field by his devoted warriors; nothing would have prevented them.[87] The entire Indian force would have concentrated at the spot if necessary, and hundreds been slain before they would have permitted their great and beloved leader to have fallen into the hands of his enemies, dead or alive."

[87] Hatch, p. 153.

Hatch once asked some of the warriors who had paid Cincinnati a visit some years after the death of Tecumtha:

"What has become of Tecumtha?" Raising their right hand to heaven, with an expression of the deepest sorrow, "Gone."

"Did you see him on the day of the battle?" "Yes."

"Just as the Americans came in sight, he with his young braves passed rapidly up and down the line, spoke to every old warrior; saw every one; said, 'Be brave; stand firm; shoot certain.'"

"Did you hear after the battle that he was killed or badly wounded?" No answer. * * * "No Indian that I have met has admitted the fact; and no white man that I have seen has with certainty known." (That Tecumtha fell here.)

"The personal appearance of this remarkable man was uncommonly fine.[88] His height was about five feet nine inches, judging him by his own height, when standing close to him, and corroborated by the late Col. John Johnson, for many years Indian agent at Piqua. His face, oval rather than angular, his nose handsome and straight, his mouth beautifully formed like that of Napoleon I, as represented in his portraits; his eyes clear transparent hazel, with a mild, pleasant expression when in repose, or in conversation; but when excited in his orations, or by the enthusiasm of conflict, or when in anger, they appeared like balls of fire; his teeth beautifully white, and his complexion more of a light brown or tan than red; his whole tribe as well as their kindred, the Ottoways, had light complexions; his hands and arms were finely formed; his limbs straight; he always stood very erect, and walked with a brisk, elastic, vigorous step; invariably dressed in Indian tanned buckskin; a perfectly well fitting hunting frock descending to the knee, was over his under clothes of the same material; the usual paint and finish of leather fringe about the neck; cape, edges of the front opening, and bottom of the frock; a belt of the same material, in which were his side-arms — an elegant silver mounted tomahawk, and knife in a strong leather case, short pantaloons, connected with neatly fitting leggins and moccasins, with a mantle of the same material thrown over his left shoulder, used as a blanket in camp, and as

[88] Hatch, p. 113.

a protection in storms. Such was his dress, when I last saw him, on the 17th of August on the streets of Detroit."

Tecumtha was the last of a series of remarkable native Ohioans to whom I have referred in this history, and his death brings my story nearly to its close. Of his humanity, there can be no question, and he therefore rises above all the other aborigines of distinction.

Hatch says that he met many warriors at Greenville, July 22. 1814, during the formation of the second treaty. Regarding Tecumtha's claim to honorable warfare, and that he never tortured prisoners; "they invariably testified to the correctness of this claim on his part, and says it 'was true, they knew it to be true.' "

Of his ability as an orator there are a number of examples which cannot be produced here in a condensed history. I have given one or two bits, and here is another related by Col. Hatch.

EXTRACT OF A SPEECH MADE BY LIEUT. GEN. PROVOST.

"Father, listen! The Americans are taking our lands from us every day. They have no hearts, father; they have no pity for us; they want to drive us beyond the setting sun."

And now, what of the man himself? As time passes and we view history in the light of an age free from prejudices, we can safely place Tecumtha above all the other actors in that drama. I am persuaded that none of them approached him in courage and natural ability. We must remember that Tecumtha was reared among savages. That he should possess intelligence, humanity and all the qualities of a great leader and exhibit fine traits of character is surprising. We naturally expect such in the nature of those who have dwelt under the protection and culture of civilization. In view of his disadvantages and that he successfully coped with them, elevating himself among the great men of his time irrespective of color, he is deserving of highest honor.

Tecumtha died as he lived — facing the foe. A more heroic, dauntless and determined character is not to be found on the pages of history in any land or of any time. He had but a few hundred men; thousands were hurled against him. He could

never hope for success, but he hesitated not. He came of a noble tribe, one "whose business was war", and it reverenced him. During these troublesome times he was as a rock jutting out of the sea against which the waves beat and raged in vain. He was a Colossus, towering over other men, representing all that was highest and best in the native Americans. His name is assured undying fame and his deeds will live as long as there is a history of America.

In 1819 John Johnston was Indian agent at Piqua, and he gave Caleb Atwater a long account of the tribes under his care. He had charge of the Delawares, Shawanoes, Senecas and Ottawas. The Delawares were bitterly opposed to the whites because they had broken so many treaties. They wanted no white neighbors and none of their religion, but desired to move west of the Mississippi, having sold their lands for that purpose.

The Wyandots were stirred up about a prospective war with the United States. There was a Methodist missionary among them and he was doing much good.

Agent Johnston reports the following Indians, October, 1819:

Shawanoes, two hundred and sixty-five men, two hundred and fifty-six women, two hundred and seventy-nine children. Wapakoneta.

Wyandots, one hundred and sixty-five men, one hundred and ninety-three women, one hundred and eigthy-six children. Upper Sandusky.

Ottawas, eighty-five men, eighty-eight women, fifty-four children. Auglaize.

Senecas, one hundred and ninety-five men, one hundred and eighty-seven women, one hundred and sixty-nine children. Miami River.

Mohawks, sixteen men, nineteen women, twenty-two children. Upper Sandusky.

Black Hoof was the Shawanoe chief at Piqua.[89] These people had a saw and grist mill and were fairly industrious. They were very brave and loved to talk of valor in war. They were

[89] Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society: Worcester, Mass., 1820. Caleb Atwater.

bitterly opposed to Christianity. He thought the Senecas more like whites than others of his wards. He said the Shawanoes had four tribes:

"1. The Piqua Tribe. In ancient times they had a large fire, which being burned down, a great puffing and blowing was heard in the ashes; they looked and, behold, a man stood up from the ashes: hence the name Piqua — a man coming out of the ashes or made of ashes.

"2. The Mequachake Tribe, which signifies a fat man filled — a man made perfect, so that nothing is wanting.

"3. The Kiskapocoke Tribe. The celebrated prophet Elsquataway and Tecumseh his brother belonged to this tribe. They were always inclined to war and gave much trouble to the nation. They finally separated and took up their residence at Greenville, this state, in 1806, since which time their history is generally known. In the late war they lost twenty-two warriors in battle and are quite reduced in numbers. They have now removed their former place of residence at Tippecanoe.

"4. The Chillicothe Tribe. Chillicothe has no definite meaning — it is a place of residence."

Among them the usual Algonkin custom of initiating the youths is observed. They also have war medicine which is always taken with them when going to war. In marriage they consult brothers and uncles on the maternal side. Fathers have no voice. Divorces may be obtained at the wish of either.

The Shawanoe's green corn dance in August lasted four to twelve days and was such as is observed among all Algonkins.

"The Indians attended from all quarters with their families, their tents and provisions, camping around the council or worshipping house.[90] The animals killed for the sacrifice are cleaned, the head, horns and entrails are suspended on a large white pole with a forked top, which extends over the roof of the house. The women having prepared the new corn and provisions for the feast, the men first take some of the new corn, rub it between their hands then on their faces and breasts and they feast, the great chief having first addressed the crowd, thanking the Almighty for the return of the season and giving

[90] Atwater. Transactions, etc., p. 286.

such moral instruction to the people as may be proper from the time. On these occasions the Indians are dressed in their best manner and the whole nation attends, from the greatest to the smallest. The quantity of provisions collected is immense, every one bringing in proportion to his ability. The whole is cast into one pile and distributed during the continuance of the feast among the multitude by leaders appointed for the purpose. In former times the festival was held in the highest veneration and was a general amnesty which not only absolved the Indians from all punishments for crimes, murder only excepted, but seemed to bury guilt itself in oblivion. There are no people more frequent or fervent in their acknowledgements of gratitude to God. Their belief in Him is universal, and their confidence so strong that it is quite astonishing."

These tribes of Ohio had not only much corn, etc., but they also depended largely upon the chase. They hesitated about taking the field unless they had large quantities of corn "cached" in their villages. Some of them had extensive orchards and Wayne cut down several thousand peach and apple trees during one of his expeditions.

Some idea of the amount of corn raised by these people can be had from the following statement: "In 1780, two hundred acres of corn were destroyed at Piqua. In 1790, 20,000 bushels were burned on the headwaters of the Miami river.

"The margins of these rivers (the Miamis of the lakes and the Auglaize) appear like one continuous village for a number of miles both above and below this place, nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America from Canada to Florida."[91]

Regarding one character I must add a few more words.

Simon Girty, of whom much mention has been made, moved to Canada at the time of Wayne's expedition, and located at Malden, Ontario. He died February 18, 1818. He was in a number of engagements in which Tecumtha was either commanding officer or a subordinate, but it does not appear that the two had any relations with each other.

[91] General Wayne, writing from Grand Glaize in 1794. Our Indian Wards, p. 84.

He was five feet nine inches in height and very active. During his later years he became much dissipated, and it is said, that upon his death-bed he was conscious of the great wrongs which he had done his own race.

From Piqua, Sandusky and other reservations the remnants of our Ohio Indians were moved to Indian Territory, or beyond the Mississippi. But a few score, and these are tainted with white or negro blood, remain today. They do not present a pleasing spectacle, for they have imbibed all the vices and none of the virtues of civilization. I shall not speak of them further.

What have we remaining as evidence of these once powerful tribes? Nothing! Only a few graves and village-sites here and there, or scattered monuments, attest their presence. In the names of our rivers, creeks and townships we have preserved the fact that the Shawanoes, Delawares, Wyandots, etc., were once here. But in the volumes on Ohio Valley history is our permanent record. It is a sad one; a record written in blood. Reviewed after the passing of several generations, we can today see that many of the expeditions were totally unnecessary and barren of results; that much of the Indian war could have been avoided. Had our adventurers, hunters and land-grabbers been suppressed; treaties and boundaries once made respected, and such men as Heckewelder and Zeisberger placed in charge of all the Ohio tribes and given unlimited authority, backed by the powers at Pittsburg or by the general government, I doubt not but that there would have been few wars and far less ravaging of the frontiers.

Statistics are necessarily dry, but they furnish much and valuable information in few words.

Out of curiosity to ascertain the approximate number of both whites and Indians killed within Ohio, or by war parties sent out from Ohio against the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky, from the earliest times down through the war of 1812 and including the last settler killed by an Indian in northern Ohio in 1825, I occupied most of the winter of 1893-'94 in computing from military records, histories, etc., and obtained this result: Whites killed by Indians, 12,002; Indians killed by whites, 7,837.

The books of accounts, covering transactions through more than two hundred years, are closed. The ledgers are posted, and the final balance sheet is drawn off. The totals do not represent dollars and cents, but pain and suffering and blood. The price demanded might have been less, but because of broken treaties, of fraud, of invasion, of crime and of hard dealings and impositions, it became more.

Our poor natives, lacking as they did the advantages possessed by even the primitive settlers and pioneers, have left a record in war and in statescraft of which a more powerful nation might well be proud. Perhaps history might be challenged to produce a character, elevated from more than mere obscurity — from real savagery — who is the equal of that magnificent man, Tecumtha. And with Tecumtha died all that was best of the race of Ohio Indians. Truly his sun set in a blaze of glory!

REPORT OF FIELD WORK IN VARIOUS PORTIONS OF OHIO.

By Warren King Moorehead, Curator and in Charge of Explorations.

PREFACE.

April 4, 1897, I left Columbus for Farmington, New Mexico. Mr. Clarence Loveberry, who had been associated with me for nearly three years in the museum as well as in the field, was appointed to act as Assistant Curator in my absence. During my stay in the West he carried on field work and attended to the museum routine duties. August 27, when I resigned the Curatorship, Mr. Loveberry was appointed in my stead.

The field work had been projected and routes laid out for Mr. Loveberry before I left for New Mexico. These he followed. I am greatly indebted to him for his faithfulness in observing the lines of investigation indicated.

In mapping out certain localities for explorations I had in mind not so much the securing of mound specimens for the museum as the investigation of certain peculiar mounds. These struck me (especially those in Pickaway county) as being different from the average lowland or "high culture groups" of the Scioto Valley. Explorations tended to confirm my opinion.

In addition, it was thought best to follow the Scioto to its source and from thence down the Sandusky to the Lake. By such means we could ascertain if mounds or other works followed the streams from the Ohio to the Lake. Trips through sections of the state heretofore not well represented upon the archæologic map were also made.

There is not sufficient space to present the names of several hundred persons who kindly aided the survey in many ways, who donated specimens, assisted in placing monuments upon the map. Suffice it to say that the Society is under great obligations to each and every one of them.

I am particularly indebted to Miss Lucy Allen for her coöperation in the preparation of the state map for publication in this report and for her constant assistance in the museum.

Mr. J. S. Roof, of Asheville, and Mr. F. E. Bingham, of Jackson, were especially interested in the survey and rendered very considerable service.

Concerning the importance of work accomplished, the exploration of the Snake Den group and the Baum village site probably rank first. Our trip up the Scioto to Lake Erie was quite necessary. The results of this expedition indicate that travel by that route from the Ohio river to the Lake was not as extensive in pre-Columbian times as during the historic period.

I am under obligations to the Trustees of the Society for coöperation in the execution of the plans for field work.

REPORT OF FIELD WORK IN VARIOUS PORTIONS OF OHIO.*

"I got together my field outfit, and armed with a letter from the governor requesting that land owners grant me permission to excavate, I went to Asheville on April 14. Pending negotiations I journeyed to Chillicothe and endeavored to secure permission to explore several mounds, but was unsuccessful. Returning to Asheville I saw Mr. J. S. Roof and in company with him went to the famous Snake Den Group. On the way there we purchased a number of old historical objects at a country sale." Thus begin the field notes.

The Snake Den Group is well named. In early times hundreds — and, if we are to believe the older farmers living near there — thousands of reptiles dwelt beneath the large rocks forming the mounds. In the spring of 1817 the neighboring farmers organized to abate the nuisance and, repairing to the place, they built a high board fence entirely around the two stone mounds. When warm weather set in and the snakes came out of their winter quarters they tried in vain to penetrate into the surrounding country. Great numbers of them were stoned, shot

* The report contained in the following pages is made up from Mr. Loveberry's field notes. These have been changed somewhat. All conclusions and explanations and foot-notes not in quotation marks (and in parentheses) are my own. W. K. M.

or clubbed. When the survey arrived and heard the tradition it seemed to the men a gross exaggeration. But as work continued and the survey removed hundreds of vertebræ another "verification of a tradition" — as Professor Hodge said of the Enchanted Mesa of the Southwest — was established.

"Often we threw them out by the shovel full," says the report. About a peck were saved and mounted in the museum as a curiosity of historic interest. People carried away quantities strung upon slender twigs.

The Snake Den Group lies upon the point of a high plateau and is surrounded by low, level bottoms save towards the south and east. The land below must have originally been prairie, judging from its appearance and character. There being few hills in this portion of Pickaway county, the elevation of between one hundred and fifty and two hundred feet is quite a prominent landmark. The group lies in Walnut township, seven miles north of Circleville and one-half mile north of East Ringgold.

Mr. D. Snyder, the owner, gave permission for exploration, but imposed peculiar conditions, and these finally compelled the survey to end its labors before the exploration of the group was complete. The field notes on this point state: "He gave permission to dig the mounds on condition we would stop work when he requested us. All gold and silver were to be turned over to him. I readily agreed to this, as I had never heard of gold or silver being found in the mounds, save some modern silver bands that were of French or English origin, being traded to the Indians by the early explorers."

Upon Friday, April 16, the party located upon Mr. Snyder's farm. From this high table land, upon which the group is located, one obtains a commanding view of the surrounding country. Approaching enemies could be easily detected. To the westward, perhaps six or seven miles, heavy timber bordering upon the Scioto can be seen. Towards the southeast the plateau widens out, but there appear to be no monuments in that direction, at least none within a mile or more of the group. Evidences of occupation as a village site are scant, being confined to a piece

of pottery here and there, or arrow heads or flint chips in no more profusion than are found upon hunting sites.

Beginning at the western point of the hill, or, at least, but a few yards from the slope, we find a large stone mound. It can be said to form the northwest extension of the group and is marked A upon the ground plan, Figure I. The boulders and spalls of which it is composed are about as large as a can could conveniently handle. It is twelve feet high and one hundred and

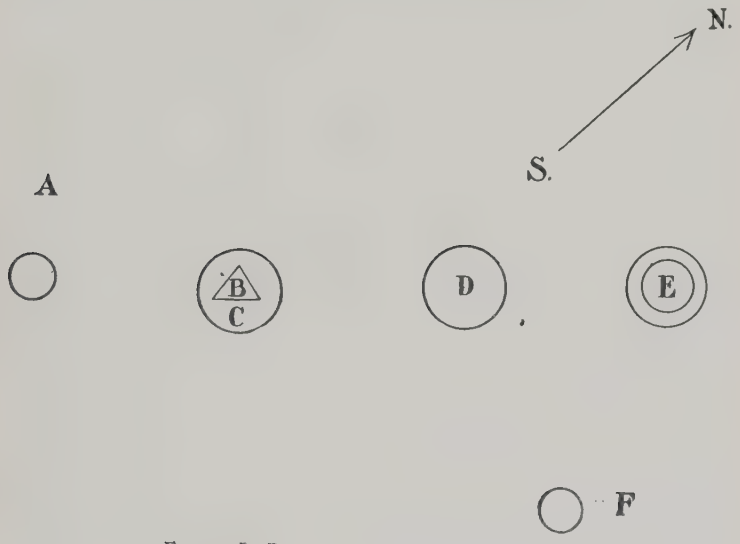


FIGURE I. PLAN OF THE SNAKE DEN GROUP.

twenty-five feet in diameter, and is covered with numerous large trees.

Just east of the stone mound A is a long, wide platform some three feet in height and one hundred and ten feet east and west, and ninety feet north and south. Upon this platform (or mound site) stands a stone mound one hundred and fifty feet in diameter. The stone of which it is composed is much burnt, and on that account Mr. Loveberry called it a "crematory." He observes that the east side of this "crematory" is composed of clay and the west side of stone. In Figure I the platform will

be found to be marked C and the mound B. This mound is shown in Figure I*a*.

Continuing east, the hill still narrow, but curving slightly, perhaps not more than two hundred feet wide, we find a clay mound. It is one hundred and four feet in diameter east and west and ninety-one feet north and south and is eleven feet high. (See D on map of the Snake Den Group.) On top of it is the

FIGURE I*a*. STONE MOUND (C) ON PLATFORM OF SNAKE DEN GROUP.

stump of an oak tree, perhaps two hundred years old. Continuing to the east twenty feet we find a circle of clay one hundred and fifty feet in diameter, ten feet wide and two feet high. The moat within the circle is two feet deep. Letter E on the map shows this circle.

Passing to Mr. Henry May's farm, the adjoining property, we find another circle, two hundred feet distant from the last mentioned. It is one hundred and fifty feet in diameter, twelve feet across and two and one-half feet high. There is a slight moat within. Letter F upon the map indicates its position. Five hun-

dred feet directly south of this circle stands a clay mound twelve feet high and one hundred and thirty feet across the base, and is marked G upon the map. There is a fair-sized tree growing near its summit. Immediately beyond the mound and circle the plateau widens (towards the southeast). A deep hole, dug by farmers while burying stock, revealed nothing of interest. As the excavation was large, the survey did not attempt further exploration.

Work was begun upon the earth mound (D). A trench ten feet wide was run from the west side. Various small patches of colored earth were noticed which showed plainly the "dumps" or loads carried up by the builders. Most of the material was yellowish sandy clay. Continuing, a few feet from the outer edge several large rocks were found, also ashes and charcoal. These latter seem scattered through a majority of the ancient remains in America and have been noticed by all archæologists. No importance is to be attached to them unless found in beds or deposits. Numerous black spots were found and these may, or may not, have resulted from the decay of certain perishable materials. Three feet from the surface the ground was very dry. Scattered along the bottom, some distance from the starting point, were found fifteen or twenty masses of ashes or mouldy substance, and in two of these the survey discovered skeletons. The field notes state: "The first one was about ten feet deep and ten feet west of the center of the mound. It lay ten inches above the bottom and was covered with the ashes or mouldy substance. All that remained were a few ribs, a bit of humerus, pieces of other long bones and fragments of skull. Two feet northeast of this was another skeleton a few inches above the bottom. It headed north. Excepting the pelvis and the skull, it was well preserved. The teeth indicated a person some thirty years old. No relics were with the remains. We found flint chips and blocks of flint scattered through the dirt. They appear to be Flint Ridge material."

The last burial is interesting because it presents a rare form of burial — face downward. The discovery of Flint Ridge material is also of importance. In many of the sites indicating higher culture in the lower Scioto Valley no Flint Ridge material is

found. This brings up interesting questions: Are the quarries representative of an old culture? Are those sites where no Flint Ridge material is found later or earlier? Possibly a careful tabulation of all localities in the state where implements of this particular stone are found will aid in the solution of the problem.

As excavation in the trench proceeded it was found necessary to work the mound in two benches. It is extremely difficult

FIGURE II. WORKING IN THE "CREMATORY" OF MOUND B., SNAKE DEN GROUP.

to pitch dirt out of a pit eleven or twelve feet deep. By throwing the top section out on either side and the lower one immediately to the rear, time and labor were both saved.

"Saturday, April 17th, we worked out the lower bench in our trench. Skeleton No. 3 was found lying a little beyond No. 2 and parallel to it, headed north. Neither was it well preserved nor were there objects with it. No. 4 and No. 5 were found upon the base line; No. 4 being much decayed and No. 5 somewhat better preserved. The latter may have been a person thirty-five years of age and was headed southeast. No. 8 was found eight

feet southwest of the center nearly on the bottom. It was bunched and did not cover a space to exceed two feet each way. The bones appeared to have been placed in a neat pile. Nothing was with either of these bodies."

Bones placed in heaps are rarely found in prehistoric burial mounds, graves and glacial kame deposits in central or southern Ohio. They are more common in the Iroquois country, Canada and the Northwest, and also in the South. Sometimes the bones are painted or decorated. Dr. A. Herdlicka, of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, has made a study of these conditions and his forthcoming report will be welcomed by all archæologists. It seems that the long bones are usually placed by themselves, the small ones piled in a neat heap. Such a burial denotes the removal of the bones from field of battle, or that they were carried from a considerable distance. It would be impossible to transport the body. Some villages did not bury the entire body but placed the deceased upon the ground in an open graveyard, or on a scaffold, or in a charnel house. When the flesh had decayed, the bones were collected, arranged and buried. An instance of this occurred in 1676, when the Kiskalon Ottawas removed the pious Marquette from his grave, washed and dried his bones, placed them in a birch box, and, "in a procession of thirty canoes, they bore it, singing their funeral songs, to St. Ignace of Michillimackinac."*

On Mr. Barger's farm, three miles above Waverly, a discovery of a painted skeleton was made in 1886, and it is referred to and described in the "Report of Field Work" for last year (page 219). Dr. Herdlicka will speak of this find and also of similar ones made in Ross County, in the northern part of the state, in the Southwest and other portions of America. It is, therefore, not necessary to go into further details here.

"Skeleton No .7 was fairly well preserved, headed west and near the center. Some one had dug a hole in the center and we found traces of the old excavation down to within two feet of the bottom. No. 7 was just below this old hole. No. 8 was a child and lay just north of the feet of No. 7. It must have been

* La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West, Parkman, p. 71, Boston, 1889.

five or seven years old. It lay with head to the east. By it we found the first relics. Near the sternum was a bone awl six inches long, highly polished and well made, also a piece of graphite the size of a hickory nut.

"I concluded that the white, mouldy substance in which the

FIGURE IIa. CLAY MOUND C., SNAKE DEN GROUP.

skeletons were buried resulted from a decay of wood, weeds, brush, etc., placed over the bodies. I think that the burials were all made at the same time. We found three large beds of ashes at various depths as if there had been some kind of ceremonies or feasts as the work progressed. At one place, seven feet from the top, we found a bed of clay burned red, two feet in diameter and three to four inches thick, also another bed of yellow clay. Two flint knives and some pottery fragments were found scattered in the dirt."

Most bodies found in a layer of black soil, or in mouldy, whitish substance are thought by archæologists to have been covered by skins or layers of bark. These decaying form the soft layer so often observed. It is probable that such is the case rather than that the bodies were covered by brush, etc.

After working a day or so longer the survey moved to the platform (C) and mound (B). This was at first thought by Mr. Loveberry to be a circle surrounding a stone mound. I visited the place in November and observed that the platform towards the south is a little higher at the edges, but towards the north and northwest it is nearly flat. The depression to the south may have been caused by one or two large trees falling and uprooting earth and stones. It may have resulted from an excavation at an early period. It is not regular nor is the raised edge sufficiently extended to indicate a circle.

"The force was divided part being put upon the west side and others upon the south side. I must confess that I had no idea of finding anything here, but wished more to learn of the nature of the platform. It was a hard place to work, being covered with pawpaw bushes and showing on top a yellow clay-shale. On the south side the work began about twelve feet from the top of the platform of earth and stone, on the outer edge of the south side. It is here three feet high. The second blow of the pick struck something round about six inches from the surface and one foot from the edge of the incline of the platform. The next stroke brought out a concretion six inches in diameter. This at once attracted my attention. We worked off a foot or two of soil and uncovered several. I then called the men from the west side and set all hands at work with our small hand trowels and knives. We uncovered fifty-five concretions. These ranged in size from a marble to ones a foot in diameter and weighing seventy-five pounds. There was no regularity except that the largest ones were on the north side and they seemed to alternate, a large one and then a small one. They were all included in a space three by four feet. Some were on top of each other and all touched. They ran in under the platform and, in fact, the greater part were covered by dirt washing down from the elevation above. Scattered among them were forty-seven

fossils (cornæ), two septaria, one block of granite, one specimen of quartz crystal and fifty odd shaped stones. Dr. Edward Orton, the State Geologist, said: 'There were at least twelve species of coral in the collection and fifty peculiar formations.' There were some relics among them, namely: six hammer stones, five pestles, one broken and one unfinished tube (pipe ?), one

FIGURE III. CONCRETIONS, ETC., MOUND B., SNAKE DEN GROUP.

large stone head, three paint grinders, ten small round and oblong stones (hammers ?), one stone celt, one unfinished effigy and dozens of peculiar bright colored pebbles.

"To the south side, among the objects, we made a most remarkable find. It was a small stone box three and one-half inches long, three inches deep. It was made up of halves of two concretion shells fitted together. Inside I found five silver nuggets about the size of small walnuts. Three were coated with black paint and two with pink ochre. The weights were: six

and one-half ounces. The largest nugget two ounces. The box weighed fifteen and three-fourths ounces."

Figure II shows the stone mound or crematory just north of where the silver was found. Figure III, the heap of concretions after being removed. Figure IV, the nuggets and the box.

"Just under the collection were found some large, flat stones covering a grave two feet long and eighteen inches wide and eight inches deep. In the center of this stone vault we found about a cigar box full of cremated bones. There was no evidence that this skeleton had been burned in the mound, but it was cremated elsewhere and the fragments brought here for burial. Continued excavation at the spot resulted in nothing more of interest. We cut through the platform at this point finding, towards the stone heap or mound, quite a quantity of sandstone spalls mixed with black earth near the bottom. On top, the coil continued a yellow clay-shale. The soil below the collection and silver was black and sandy.

"I divided the force, putting some on the west side of the platform and others elsewhere. I journeyed to Columbus and showed the silver to the Trustees and had it tested by a jeweler. Dr. Orton said that they were native silver nuggets from the lakes or the lead region. I returned to the Snake Den Group.

"I immediately called upon Mr. Snyder and found that a young man from Circleville, had, in my absence, influenced him to such an extent that he wished work to cease and the silver to be turned over to him. He was told that his mounds were of value, and our survey was spoken of in a slighting way. I endeavored to get him to give up the silver enlarging upon its importance to science; but was only able to do so upon the payment of twenty-five dollars, seven times the commercial value of the nuggets. He consented to give me one more day and then I must end my labors. This I reluctantly agreed to, for the exploration of the group was not complete and should have been carried on for some weeks.

"Friday, April 23rd, I started an increased force, putting part of the men on a test trench on the east side. It was ten feet long, two and one-half feet wide and three feet deep. The

earth was of a sandy nature mixed with large sandstone boulders or spalls. Nothing was found. On the northeast side we dug another trench finding earth of the same nature. The south trench had reached the heap of stones, mound or crematory (whatever it may be). Here we found large sandstone spalls and black sandy soil and numberless snake bones, but no relics or human bones.

"Beginning on the center of the mound (D) we trenched for twenty-five feet, ten feet wide and twelve feet deep. At the west end of our trench it was six feet deep. We found about four wagon loads of burnt stone, crumbled and reduced. The bed was nine feet in diameter. We found beds of charcoal and ashes at various depths. There was a bed of red clay burned hard. Fragments of human bones were scattered through the stones.

"Saturday, the 24th, we did some more work upon the crematory. I tested the sides of the stone mound (A on plan) and concluded that it would not justify exploration. I tested the east circle, but found nothing. The circle and mound to the extreme east (Mr. May's farm) would not seem to yield much, and so I brought the work at the Snake Den Group to a close."

This is a very important and interesting group, and Mr. Loveberry is to be congratulated upon his success.

Reference to the plan will show a peculiar arrangement.

FIGURE IV. SILVER NUGGETS IN CUP. SNAKE DEN GROUP.

Courtesy of the American Archæologist Co., Columbus.

The works to the west are stone (or mostly so) and those to the east are clay. The circles may represent sun symbols, or they may have been used for defence. The strongest point in favor of the latter theory is that the group lies upon a high hill and not in the valley. Yet we have other works upon elevations, and manifestly of defensive character, which are accompanied by circles and crescents. The question, therefore, must be left open. But as to the character of the tumuli we can positively assert that they were all erected to cover interments.

The enclosed space within the east circle is lower than the surrounding surface outside. This would indicate rather of a defensive character. The circle to the west (E) may be a sun symbol. Its moat is still plain and I infer, from looking over the spot, that the moat originally may have been four or five feet in depth. The central portion of the area inclosed is on a level with the surrounding land and may have been used for dances and ceremonies. We cannot say positively as to this, however. I give it merely as an opinion that the circle is of religious significance and is a sun symbol.

Great labor was necessary to construct these mounds, even if the stones were not quarried but collected in gullies to the southeast. It would seem that the builders ran short of material, or lacked sufficient laborers, else they would have continued the construction of the platform with stone and not have employed earth. As to the cremated skeleton and the objects just above it, I would venture the opinion that these singular concretions, fossils, etc., were placed as an offering. Why such objects, instead of the usual run of artifacts, covered his remains cannot be explained. Without doubt many bodies were cremated in the central part of the platform and these as well as the fire, were covered while burning.

None of the crania were secured whole and it is therefore impossible to determine whether we have here the brachycephali or the dolichocephali.

The survey moved, shortly afterward, to the northwest corner of Washington township and located upon Mr. Wagerly's farm. It was known in the neighborhood as the "haunted mound", because lights were seen at night (?) and a man com-

mitted suicide near it. Superstitions regarding mounds are not uncommon in Ohio. I have frequently been warned "that no good could come of explorations here", or "that you will be haunted by the dead you disturb." Our folk lore brethren — not an inconsiderable part of anthropologists — should investigate these beliefs. Briefly they are usually as follows:

That lights are seen at night; that so and so dug there years ago and heard strange noises; that an Indian was seen by so and so a moonlight night standing upon the mound; that an Indian came here and dug at night carrying away a treasure; that so and so digging and finding bones heard them rattle. These superstitions are very common in the hilly sections of southern and eastern Ohio, where many ignorant persons reside.

Mr. Wagerly's mound stands upon a bank of gravel some twenty-five feet above the plain, the structure itself standing nine feet high, with a diameter of one hundred feet. On the west side is a basin which was formerly a swamp. In the field notes the comment is made that work began by means of a trench running from the east towards the west, but that "the neighbors told us that every man who had tried to dig this mound would get scared and run away and leave it. Nevertheless we began work under these trying circumstances." The trench was twenty feet long and nine feet deep. The first few feet were made up of fine red clay in which were fragments of flint, chips and charcoal. Below, was a gravelly, yellow clay containing no flint or charcoal. This had been carried up from the immediate vicinity and was very hard, showing "that there was little vegetable matter in it at the time of making the mound." The survey, having in its experience found little in a hard or compact mound, and realizing that it would be next to impossible to secure the bones or objects in a good state of preservation, filled the excavation.

One-half mile east is a kame in which farmers have found ten or twelve skeletons when getting gravel for the roads. It was visited, but the burial portion had been entirely removed.

The twenty-ninth Mr. Roof, of Asheville, and the survey went to the southwest part of Madison township (Pickaway county) visiting Messrs. Bauer and Morrison, both of whom owned mounds. Mr. Roof had permission to dig them, but waived in

favor of the survey. The Bauer mound is located upon the first terrace of Walnut creek, being one hundred and thirty feet in diameter and eight feet high. On top a flint arrow head and some chips were picked up. Back of it, two hundred yeards east, is a very perfect "bottom" mound, near the creek. It was a curious structure in that very black soil, occupied a circle of twenty-five feet in diameter in the center, while surrounding that was a lighter brown clay. The black earth extended eight feet deep.

Upon sinking a circular pit twenty feet in diameter to the bottom it was concluded that the surface soil of the valley had washed away in times of flood and left the mound upon its foundations somewhat higher than the surrounding land. It could not be ascertained why the mound was built in such form — the black soil solid to the bottom and being surrounded by the brown clay.

"Skeleon No. 1 was found two feet deep just north of the center. The head lay towards the south. The body was extended and the bones badly decayed. Skeletons Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5 were three feet deep and seven feet west of the center of the mound in the black soil. They were adults and placed so closely together that some of the bones crossed. No common direction was observed in the interments and there were no objects.

"Skeleton No. 7; near the north-center, three feet deep, head to the west, extended, badly decayed, nothing with it. Nos. 8 and 9, just south of the center, their heads being close together. Adults, no objects, badly decayed. No. 10 was, in the center, two feet below the bottom of the mound, in a depression which seemed to have been made especially for it. The grave or excavation was coffin shaped. Buried extended, head to the north. At the knee of the right leg lay a beautiful double perforated slate ornament of the squared or tablet pattern. Remains of decayed wood or hides were noticed about this skeleton. (See Figure X, No. 8 in figure and on specimen-museum No. 14,940.)

"Skeleton No. 11, found north of the center. Headed south, was under three feet of black earth, adult, decayed, no objects. Two feet from the surface above and near the center of the mound was found a war point of good workmanship. A little below it was a peculiar notched stone having two grooves upon one

side and notches upon the edge. (See figure X, No. 9, museum number on specimen 14,941.) The black soil at the bottom was sticky and therefore caused the decay of the skeletons. Of some only the teeth remained. Our trench upon the east side showed the mound to be quite old, much of the earth worked down, leaving the mound only eight feet high at that point. We filled up the hole and drove to Mr. Henry Morrison's farm three miles south."

The mound is upon the east side of Harrison township (all this work being in Pickaway county) and upon the low land in Walnut Creek Valley. It is three feet high and sixty feet base. A small elevation was selected as its site. The material is yellow clay, much of which had been burned. In an excavation sixteen feet square and four feet deep several large beds of burned clay were observed. Being burned very hard it could be taken out in large lumps and several of these went to the museum. Paint, in the form of bits of soft hematite, was found in it. There were also fragments of cremated bones. Near the center on the east side were two celts, the one perfect and the other broken. (See Figure X, Nos. 10 and 11.) Pottery fragments and flint chips were also numerous. Ashes and charcoal were under the clay.

May eighth the survey located at Chillicothe and set about securing permission for explorations. Just northwest of Chillicothe are nine large mounds. They lie to the west and northwest of the fair grounds, distant from a few hundred yards up to a mile. A group of three had been opened under my direction in 1889. Squier and Davis had opened another in 1845 or 1846. Within the fair-grounds enclosure is a large mound owned by Mr. Story. North of it, some few hundred yards, is a very large one owned by Mr. Miller, another to the northwest is owned by the Carriage Factory Company. All of these owners kindly permitted explorations.

From the larger mound (Miller's) people had been hauling away much of the rich, black soil for lawns and gardens. A considerable excavation had therefore been made in the side, and this greatly facilitated explorations, as will be seen. The Carriage Company was represented by Colonel Entrekin, and he also gave

FIGURE V. TUNNELS IN "CARRIAGE FACTORY MOUND," CHILLICOTHE.

consent for explorations. The Worthington mounds are within one-fourth of a mile of this tumulus.

The Miller or Carriage Factory mound stands thirty-five feet high and has a diameter at the base of two hundred and twenty-five feet. It has retained its form exceedingly well until within the last five years, during which people have hauled away earth. The west side, at the point of removal, stands about fifteen feet in perpendicular height, and from the edge of the mound to this wall or face it must be nearly fifty-five feet.

Work began the tenth of May with six men. The face was squared up at the base and three tunnels started. These and the mound are shown in Figure V. As the survey had had considerable experience in tunneling large mounds (one at Coshocton, one at Harnesses', nine miles south of Chillicothe, one at McConnellsville) it was thought that this structure — soft though the earth might be — could be examined with safety. All such

work is, however, attended with more or less danger, as I can testify, having ribs broken and my spine permanently injured in 1888 at Austin, Ross county. We had undermined and tunneled in a weak bank, and it fell.

The central tunnel was flanked by one on either side. Each was fourteen feet from the main shaft. This left sufficient earth between to prevent a cave-in. These tunnels were three feet six inches wide and four feet six inches high. Their bottoms or floors were kept well beneath the base line. Progress was slow at first for the earth was very hard and solid. As long as sunlight could penetrate one could notice many and diversified colors. The dumps or masses of earth (about the size of a peck — just what one man could easily carry) seemed to have been brought from places where soils and clays of red, black, yellow, grey and brown colors abounded. The same peculiarity was noticed in the large mound of the group of three called Mound No. 43 and opened in 1889. The construction is very minutely described in a published report upon the exploration.* It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that all of these tumili, grouped as they are, show a similarity of construction, were built by the same people, and if not at the same time, at least within a few generations of each other. The explorations of Mr. Loveberry tend to confirm this opinion advanced when the group of which No. 43 is a part was examined. The dumps were oval or diamond shaped. That peculiarity is noticed not only in most large mounds of the Scioto, but at Fort Ancient, in the Muskingum region and along the Great Miami.

"On the base line was a streak of decayed wood several inches thick and showing high colors. This seemed to have been pretty generally placed over the base of the mound. Between the center and south tunnel (these were started on the west side and therefore headed east, but we speak of the tunnel to the left of the main one as north, and the other as south tunnels) I found casts of poles two to three inches in diameter in the form of a pen or hut. These casts plainly retained the stamp of the bark and showed the knot holes of the saplings. The soil of the base line was now very black, and immediately above it was the heavy

* "Primitive Man in Ohio," Moorehead, p. 168. New York, '92.

line of decayed wood and then the streaked or diamond shaped deposits or dumps of earth. I counted about 20 shades of these. There were a few spots of gravel among them. The darkest spots were near the bottom and the lighter ones toward the top. On the whole the mound was of sandy soil and very hard, making digging slow. After working in our tunnels about seven feet, we started to cut side tunnels, so as to give a mode of escape in case of a cave-in, and also to furnish more air. In the side tunnels we met with nothing extraordinary. Soft spots seen now and then I thought resulted from the decay of a log.

"When we had dug the tunnels in fifteen feet from the entrance we began to side tunnel and ran branches south and east, but leaving large pillars to hold the mound up, as in a coal mine. We found in the south tunnel, fifteen feet in, a rough sandstone disc. It lay in the decayed wood line. All the way this peculiar line ran nearly level. Even by candle light we could make out the different colors.

"Wednesday, May 12. We pushed the tunnels very rapidly today. Side tunnels were dug. The decay line is very heavy and we can take out large pieces showing eight to ten streaks or different colors. (Figure VII, No. 11, shows the base line and streaks in same.) At noon today we struck a place wherein was soft, black earth. After digging into it about a foot we struck the skull of a skeleton, twenty-five feet from the mouth of the north tunnel. Its skull was badly decayed, but upon close examination the pieces of skull were found to be covered with a thin bark like fibre. (Figure VII, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, are fragments of bone with bark or fibre.) Around the next were bone beads and from the shoulder of the left arm to the hand were three or four strings of shell beads numbering over two hundred and made from a kind of small ocean shell. (Figure VII, Nos. 9 and 10 show the beads from this skeleton.) There were bits of the string yet remaining in some of them. Several pieces of mica and several bits of limestone also lay near the remains. The skeleton was headed north, lying upon its back. Around it were evidences of thin wood or bark. Most of the bark and wood lay in a longitudinal direction with the skeleton. This

body was wrapped or dressed in some woven fabric of fibre-like consistency next to the skin, for some parts of the skeleton could be lifted up and to them would yet adhere the woven fabric.

"Then came a most peculiar thing. There was bandaging of some sort of bark like birch about the body and legs. It extended in many directions like mummy wrapping. The beads and body seemed to be coated with a peculiar plaster cast, very white and to the depth of one-half to three-fourths of an inch. Several of the long bones, humerus, femur and clavicle were taken out whole, while others were fairly preserved. We found some mica fragments around the skeleton. This skeleton lay upon the base line and there was no evidence of fire about it. No charcoal was discovered. There were no other relics near it.

"The tunnels continued and more branches were run in various directions. The decay line seemed to grow thicker.

"Friday, May 4. Our tunnels keep getting deeper. We still run onto some of the soft spots of earth. I discovered that they came from the decay of wood. The earth fell down when the wood decayed and thus left the soft places. On the base line we now found great quantities of rotten wood. All of these peculiraities were carefully investigated. The center and north tunnels (main ones) were now turned to the south. The ground kept getting harder and the colors lighter. We were past the center of the mound a considerable distance. We were finding nothing, and as none of these mounds of the large group, of which this is a part, had yielded much, I concluded we would close the tunnels and quit. There were several hundred visitors during the course of examination.

"Our south tunnel measured thirty-three feet, north one thirty-five feet, while the center one was seventy feet, and side tunnels one hundred and forty feet; total, two hundred and seventy-eight feet."

In the matter of "relics" this mound yielded little, as did others of the same group. But they furnished information regarding mound construction. The varied earths, of all colors, have a special significance. It is not to be supposed that these varied shades resulted from a hap-hazard gathering of earth from about the base of the mound. There are no soils near its base pre-

senting such diversity of colors. There can be but one explanation: that both in the case of Mound No. 43 (opened in 1889) and this one just described, the selection of these "dumps" was intentional. Sand painting is common in the southwest among the Pueblos, to some extent among the Navajos, also in portions of Asia. The brightest colors are used and the designs, executed upon a flat surface, are complicated and symbolic in character. These dumps may not be classed as "paintings," but that they have some peculiar relation to the mounds themselves, I am convinced. The grouping of various shades so that the contrasts are quite apparent — red next to black or yellow next to grey, or brown next to white — is evidence of the purpose. Instead of stratification, or of altars, or of treasured possessions exhibiting rare material from a distance, or high artistic aptitude in execution are all absent. At the Hopewell, Harness, Mound City and Hopetown groups — all within ten miles (or less) of this place — the tumuli revealed offerings of religious or ornamental character. The artifacts were beautifully wrought and frequently

FIGURE VI. THE STORY MOUND, EDGE OF FAIR-GROUNDS, CHILLICOTHE.

of substances or materials which had been transported from a great distance. But this mound, and one or two of its fellows, evince more care and labor in the simple fact of construction. Whether these earths were artificially colored, whether they were brought from a distance of several miles cannot be ascertained. But that they were selected with special reference to their shades is indisputable. Time and pains were both necessary to construct this tumulus. Along with No. 43 — some few hundred yards northwest — it stands as unique and peculiar. It is a part of that strange culture of the lower Scioto — a culture which was higher than elsewhere in the Ohio Valley — a culture of great antiquity and possibly one which was affected by southern influences.

The fibre covered and wrapped skeleton presents a condition not observed elsewhere so far as I am aware. Skeletons wrapped in coarse cloth, copper wrapped in cloth, have been frequently described. Both the bark and the cloth of fibre should be carefully studied. The weaving of the cloth and the material of which it is composed, the nature of the bark — these are points to be determined in the future.

Monday, May 17th, the survey began work upon Mr. Story's mound just within the fair ground enclosure. It is twenty-five feet high and two hundred feet base. Several large trees grow upon its summit. There is a slight ridge or elevation of pure white sand upon which the tumulus is built. Excavations in the sand to a depth of six feet revealed nothing and it was therefore concluded to be of natural origin.

The tunnel, six feet high and four feet wide, was started from the north side. Figure VI shows the mound. A man is standing where the tunnel started. The earth was quite soft for a distance of twenty-five feet. Towards the center it was found to be damp — an unusual condition in so large a mound. A fragment of chalcedony was found twenty feet in the tunnel.

Until the excavation was well into the structure, the base line could not be distinctly traced. Twenty-five feet were dug the first day. Only twelve feet were dug the second, for the ground had become harder.

When in forty-seven feet the earth began to get darker and softer. Thursday, the 20th, after working one foot two post

holes were found some four inches apart. They were six inches in diameter and two feet in depth. The post had been squared at the bottom. The tunnel was considerably below the base line, and the posts, therefore, had been sunk five feet below it. This was an unusual depth. They were perfectly true, being exactly perpendicular. Every few inches more post holes were discovered running in diameter from four to twelve inches. As a side tunnel progressed it was seen that the post holes gradually curved and further examination revealed a circle some twelve to fifteen feet in diameter. Fragments of bark, in places sticking to the sides of the holes were all that remained of the posts.

Near the center of the mound a heavy "decay line" was found. The soil changed to black. More branch tunnels were started to investigate the center thoroughly. Three feet south of the circle of posts and within it were found finger bones of a skeleton's right hand. Near the wrist lay a fine coffin-shaped ceremonial. It is shown in figure VII, No. 16 (museum number, 15,126). It was highly polished, made of ribbon slate, and perforated in two places.

"The skeleton was in a poor state of preservation and I did not try to take a photograph of it in place. Around the feet and head was more decayed wood, etc. Where the wood lay the earth was soft, but on other portions of the body where there was no wood, it was hard. On the left wrist was another coffin-shaped ceremonial. (See Figure VII, No. 17, museum number 15,128). It was not perforated and had been burned. A bevel ornament, highly polished lay near this. (See Figure VII, No. 18, museum number, 15,127). It was perforated, of ribbon slate and the lower side had been coated with red paint. It was one of our finest finds. The edges are very true. This skeleton headed north, was extended. It was a young man; the skull was thick. From appearances it was laid near the north wall of the log house or pen.

"Another side tunnel was run from the main tunnel east, and also several others. We found five feet from the skeleton in the rotten wood on the base line in a little pocket six chalcedony spears of rare beauty. (Figure VII, No. 13). Near them were

three ends of deer antlers worked into awls. (Figure VII, No. 15).

"About two feet south of the skeleton we found another cache of nine shouldered spears like the others. (Figure VII, No. 14). These caches are valuable as they undoubtedly show one man's work. In the west tunnel I found a large piece of tibiæ." Figure VII, No. 19, beads found with the skeleton.

DESCRIPTION OF ARTICLES OF FIGURE VII.

Specimens rom the Miller and Story tumuli, Chillicothe.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 are fragments of bone from the burial in the Miller mound. They are covered with portions of the bark wrappings. No. 7 has fragments of dried skin and tissue still clinging to it.

Fragments of skin are shown in No. 8. They were taken from the ulna and radius.

No. 9 are shell beads, No. 10 bone beads from the arm of the skeleton.

No. 11 is an imprint of the base line of heavy "decay streak."

No. 12 is an imprint of a log.

THE STORY MOUND.

No. 13 is a cache of six chalcedony spears found in the circle of posts.

No. 14 is a cache of nine similar implements found near the above.

No. 15, three bone awls of deer antler, found near the caches.

No. 16, a beautiful "coffin ceremonial" found at the right wrist of the skeleton. Perforated, polished and of ribbon slate.

No. 17, a "coffin ceremonial", burned, not perforated. Lay near the left wrist of the skeleton.

No. 18, a beveled ornament of ribbon slate, highly polished. Found near the left wrist. Its edges are very sharp.

No. 19, bone beads found with the skeleton.

The tunnels continued, branches were run and the whole base of the mound covered as far as was compatible with safety.

FIGURE VII. MATERIAL FROM THE MOUNDS.

In the west side were found animal bones. The diameter of the log pen was placed at fifteen feet. It was nearly a true circle.

Professor Otis T. Mason of the United States National Museum, and other ethnologists and archæologists think that nearly all tribes living in wooded regions, whether in modern or prehistoric times constructed their dwellings of wood and that they were usually conical in form, although log huts may have been employed. The majority of the habitations were circular at the base. This would seem to be borne out by mound explorations, and the Story mound is but further proof of this supposition. It was, then, a circular structure built around the skeleton, larger than those small dome-shaped affairs found in the Effigy mound of the Hopewell group, but of the same general character. Some of the circular dwellings in which the mound tribes are supposed to have lived were undoubtedly clay covered. There are many reasons for this supposition, and as they have been published

several times, it is not necessary to enter upon a discussion of the testimony here.*

Two tumuli upon the farm of Mr. M. V. Briggs, four miles north of Chillicothe in the southeast corner of Union township were explored. They are ranged north and south, about one hundred feet apart, upon the second terrace of the Scioto.

The south mound is seven feet high and seventy-five feet base; the north one ten feet high and seventy feet base. Both have a sandy clay top and black soil in the lower sections. The southern tumulus had been farmed over for many years, the other was more nearly in its original condition.

"We trenched the south mound thoroughly. Found the skull of a skeleton north of the center and within two feet of the surface. Nothing else save a few worked pieces of flint came to light during our digging. The other bones of the skeleton could not be found.

"We dug a pit in the south mound twenty feet long, fifteen feet wide and eleven feet deep. Two feet from the south edge of the mound we found a skeleton headed west and fairly well preserved. One foot north of this lay another headed west but not very well preserved. Near it we found a celt. Seven feet deep and twenty-five feet north of the south edge I found a large burned red sandstone relic of unknown use. (The celt and ashes-covered bones are shown in Figure X, Nos. 17 and 18).

"Near these was a third body headed east. These three were in a row although they headed differently. Five feet deep, in the central part of the structure we found a fourth skeleton. The bones were the largest I ever removed from a mound. All joints were exceedingly massive and the muscular attachments were wonderfully developed. Badly decayed as it was, the longer bones were sound enough for me to make these observations. Another body lay beyond this one, and five feet below the central skeleton we found another buried in a large bed of ashes. They were perfectly white and appeared very pure. They were six to seven inches thick and covered the entire body, preserving it in good shape, save that the skull was fractured.

* See the American Archæologist, May-Jany., 1897-98, for a discussion of these matters.

"The Austin Brown mound is one of the largest in the state. It stands thirty-eight feet high having a base of one hundred and sixty-five feet and is located near Brown Chapel in Scioto township (Ross county). It lies upon the second terrace of the Scioto and is made up of a rich, brown clay containing not a pebble or stone.

"We went up the side trirty-four feet from the edge and sunk a shaft on the east side. It was ten feet down to the base line at this point. We then started a large tunnel and worked in under from this point. We soon struck quantities of rotten timbers or logs and a heavy decay line. We found a fine rotary arrowhead. (See Figure X, No, 14.) There were many soft spots of black earth. Twenty feet from the mouth of the tunnel we struck a log ten inches in diameter running north and south.

"From indications I think that at the time of building this mound they felled the trees and covered them up without clearing.

"We sent several side tunnels. When the main tunnel

FIGURE VIII. THE ROBERTS MOUND, PERRY COUNTY.

passed the center we found difficulty in keeping our lights lit as we had no draught from the outside. We put in about one hundred feet of tunnel and then quit."

It is possible that if tunnels had been run in from opposite sides of the mound a current of air would have enabled the men to continue. As the Brown mound is not far from that of Chas. Metzer, where a log pen and also a cedar log (well preserved) were found, and as it is of nearly the same size, one might be justified in concluding that there existed a log structure somewhere within it. The cedar log — over fifteen feet in length — was removed from Metzger's mound in good condition. The pen was not circular but seemed to have been nearly square. While the logs were decayed, the great mass of earth above had partially preserved some of them. The Brown mound may not have contained such a structure, but the finding of logs would indicate it. Let us hope that some institution, in the future will complete the exploration. I am convinced that the results would justify the expense and trouble. The log and pen in the Metzger mound were not in the center but to the west of it.

"These three mounds which we tunneled in Ross county were so large that it would have taken all summer to dig them out by the wide trench method. Moreover, the owners did not want them destroyed.

"In such cases it is either a question of 'tunnel' or not explore."

A hill top mound upon the farm of Mr. Frank Gilmore, two miles south of Chillicothe, was opened but nothing found. It was made up of yellow clay.

"June 3 we located in Perry county. I had previously secured permission to dig twelve mounds."

The Roberts mound is one of the largest tumuli east of the Scioto. It is shown in Figure VIII. Standing upon a very high hill, it is indeed a beautiful as well as an imposing monument of the past. It is in a famous neighborhood. Flint Ridge is within sight (upon a clear day) and the stone fortification at Glenford — the largest of its kind in the state — can also be seen. This mound lies in the northwestern part of Hopewell township in Perry county. The Glenford fortification is only two miles

FIGURE IX. MOUTH OF TUNNEL IN THE ROBERTS MOUND, PERRY COUNTY.

distant. The large earthwork upon Mr. Yost's farm and described in the report of last year (page 174) is but five miles away.

The structure is one hundred and twenty feet in diameter and twenty-seven feet high. Not a tree nor a bush is upon it. Sixty years ago very large trees grew upon it and a white oak in particular was noted for its size and height.

"Our trench started from the west side and ran in until the bank in front was thirteen feet in height. In making the cut we came upon a large number of very large, flat stones weighing from ten to seventy pounds. (These, as well as the tunnel, are shown in Figure IX.) They ran from two to ten feet deep. They were only near the edges and extended up the mound for about ten feet. I suppose that they were used to keep the structure from washing down. It being built upon a high hill would be subjected to more or less wash."

This point is well taken and true. At Fort Ancient the same

precaution is observed and in some parts of the structure a rude wall of the flat limestone slabs has been carried around the edges of the embankments.

"Near the base of the mound the earth was thicker over these stones, showing that the soil above had washed down in quantities. We struck an immense quantity of ashes and burnt clay and charcoal, etc., on the base line. The mound is made up of many colors of soil and is soft and dark. The colors are not so bright as those noted in the Chillicothe group.

"After starting the tunnel and observing how soft and wet the mound was, my hopes fell as to making a big find, for if there was any perishable material in the mound it would certainly be gone by this time. The drift was a few inches below the base line, four feet high and three and one-half feet wide.

"When in eight feet (or thirty-eight feet from edge of mound) we came upon a small hole in the base line filled with ashes, charcoal and burnt bones of the deer, etc., also mussell shells, snail shells and the like. I presume they had a feast there. The bottom of the mound was now found not to be perfectly flat, but wavy or irregular. Some fragments of flint and a flint knife were found. The base line was two or three inches thick some distance beyond the burnt bones. Thirty feet from the tunnel mouth much decayed wood was uncovered. As we drew near the center the ground became sticky and wet and both hard and dangerous to work. It made shoveling slow.

"Near the center of the mound and forty feet from the mouth of the tunnel we found a skeleton, badly decayed. It was partially cremated. All the relics with it were burned except some bone beads found around the neck. We found a fragment of burned coffin-shaped ceremonial (Figure X, No. 6). We could find traces of many relics which had been burned up. The skeleton was large, headed north, and extended. The mound was now dangerous and our lights were kept lit with difficulty. So we concluded to quit.

"Directly southeast of the large mound is a small one which was originally eight or nine feet high, but it had partly been dug away to make brick for a school-house. The workmen found eight skeletons during this digging and they all lay with

feet towards the center, so I was informed by persons who saw them. Nearly half of it had been removed. We sank a pit eight by eight feet and five feet deep. We uncovered five whole and five fragmentary skeletons. These skeletons were placed without any regard to direction and were at all depths. They lay across each other, the bones being in confusion. Some were in cramped positions and all of them seemed to have been hastily thrown in. On the breast of one of them we found a handsome needle of bone six inches long, having a notch where the eye should be. (See Figure X, No. 5.) With another skeleton was a fine leaf-shaped spear. We also found flint knives and worked bits of flint. There were traces of fire and many small shells. The skeletons were on the side of the mound nearest the large one.

"We began work upon Mr. Helsir's mound in the central part of Hopewell township. It is upon a hill, seventy-five feet in diameter and eight feet high. Flint arrow-heads, knives, chips

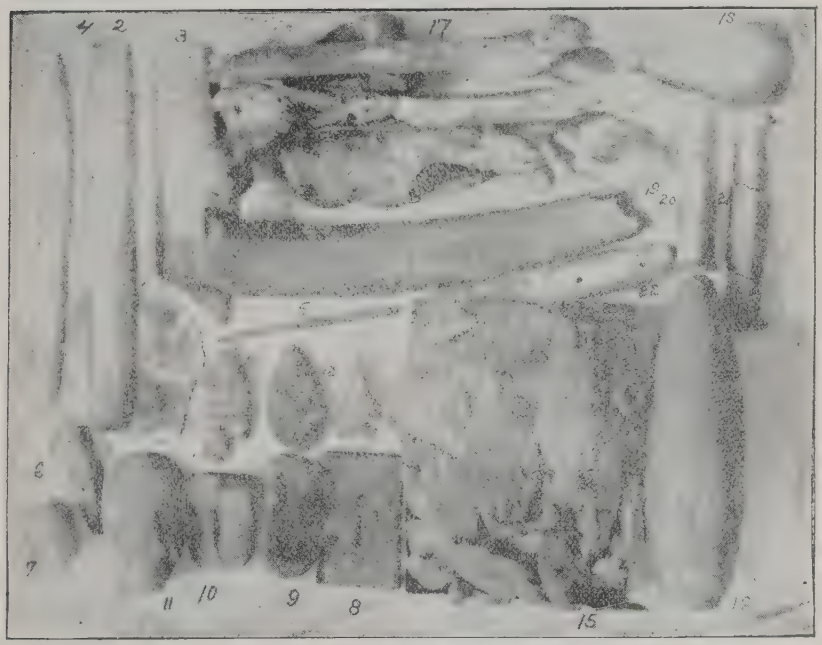


FIGURE X. MATERIAL FROM THE MOUNDS.

FIGURE XI. THE WILSON MOUND, PERRY COUNTY.

and discs were found. There were considerable traces of fire. There were no burials. Material, yellow clay. There is an extensive workshop near it and black flint from Flint Ridge abounds.

"We next dug upon Mr. R. Vanixle's farm in central Hopewell township. It is also a hill mound, sixty feet base and six feet high. Burned clay, charcoal and ashes in the bottom. A small stone mound near this yielded us nothing.

"Mr. Alvues' mound was next explored. It is not far distant and in the same township. It is seventy-five feet base and eleven feet high. Traces of fire were abundant.

"The Wilson mound is controlled by Mr. C. Rhodes, who gave us permission to explore. It covers nearly an acre of ground, is flat on top and averages eighteen feet high. The farmers consider it turtle shape. There are two indentations to the north, but none to the south. I think it more likely a platform mound.

"We started a shaft in this, back of what might be the head, at the lowest point in the mound. When five feet deep we began

to strike large sandstones, about forty to seventy-five pounds weight. For eight feet the mound was mostly stone. Then we found a layer of ashes on the bottom. Some of the stones were burned. At this point the mound was thirteen feet high. Under the ashes was a thin layer of red clay two or three inches thick. The shaft was lengthened. Continuing, the red clay was found to be three feet in thickness. It was the largest mass of burned clay we had encountered, and for what purpose such an immense quantity was placed there I do not know. Just above the clay was a layer of white substance resembling asbestos. It was evidently a mineral. We gradually uncovered a mass of this red clay, twenty-four feet long and fourteen feet wide. The clay continued on all sides. Under the stones, as far as we could undermine, it was still a foot thick. I should judge that the mound was one-half stone. A little plumb was found lying upon one of the stones. (Figure X, No. 7.) In the red clay bone fragments and mica were found. About fifty feet south of the shaft we sunk another.

"The mound was so large that we did not have time nor appropriations to dig it properly, so we filled the holes."

Figure XI shows the mound and Figure XII the tunnel.

The field notes add that the mound should be investigated thoroughly. This proposition is entirely true. Just work enough has been done to show its important character. From the limited excavations we cannot determine the true character of the structure. Complete explorations are necessary.

The survey now took a long trip through various southern counties, visiting sections which had been indicated as worthy of exploration.

Saturday, July 3, with a camp outfit, the survey left Somerset and drove to Lancaster. From thence it moved to Tarleton and from there to Bourneville by the way of Chillicothe. It camped upon Mr. Jones' farm near the Baum village site. There is an extensive earthwork at this place and its most prominent mound was examined years ago by Mr. Reynolds of the Smithsonian Institution. The enclosure has been frequently described and several times surveyed. The village site lies along the second terrace, some five hundred yards south of Paint creek in Paxton

township, Ross county. The whole site covers some thirty acres, but the debris is thickest on an area of some two or three acres. Upon the surface can be seen numerous fragments of pottery and chips of flint, bones, hammer stones, etc. While not the largest village site in the state, it exceeds the average in extent. Fire places can be found in many places.

"Our trench showed refuse to a depth of two and one-half feet. At this depth we came upon a yellow clay in which was nothing of artificial origin. During the course of exploration many trenches were dug in various portions of the field. We soon located where the relics were most numerous. Buffalo, bear,

FIGURE XII. SCENE IN TUNNEL, WILSON MOUND, PERRY COUNTY.
[Flash-light Photograph.]

deer, elk, coon, and small animals; turkey, turtle, fish and snake bones were found. Some were split, others burned and others smooth from boiling. Mussells and snails were common. Among the pottery ashes and broken stones were awls, needles and scrapers made from the tibiæ of the deer. Decorated shells, worked and cut bones, perforated teeth (as ornaments), shell ornaments, etc., were found. Hoes were made by perforating the larger mussel shells in the center and then inserting a handle." (Just as the survey of 1889 and 1891 found in the Fort Ancient village sites.)

Figure XIII gives a general view of the site. The pit in the foreground was opened by Messrs. Coover and Bean of Roxabell, and we are indebted to them for the view. Figure XIV shows the richest part uncovered by the survey together with a mass of material.

Near the spot shown in Figure XIV were found several in-

FIGURE XIII. BAUM VILLAGE SITE, BOURNEVILLE.

FIGURE XIV. MATERIAL FROM AN EXCAVATION IN THE BAUM VILLAGE SITE.

teresting objects; a pipe with a rude human face (more like that of a monkey), an awl having a fox head carved at its top, a cremated skeleton in an ash pit. This cremation was about a foot from the surface and the pipe accompanied it. All around the skeleton were many worked bones, perforated shells, cup stones, hammer stones, etc. Excavations for a space of 30 x 40 feet were made all around the spot.

"In cataloguing our specimens we find nearly 5,000 fragments, etc. The most important are:

12 or 15 bear jaws.

35 bear tusks.

6 panther teeth.

9 perforated or grooved panther teeth.

15 deer tibiæ scrapers, some of them eight or nine inches long.

2 deer antlers nearly whole.

56 worked deer antlers, perforated needles, awls.
5 turkey bone awls made from tibiæ.
3 turkey bone spurs.
250 bone beads.
3 pieces of worked bone.
3 effigies in bone.
1 monkey-faced effigy pipe.
6 fragments of pipes.
3 pieces of decorated mussell shell.
17 mussell shell hoes.
1 flint disc.
1 core.
2 scrapers.
1 arrow head.
1 knife.
30 war points.
8 drills.
1 axe.
1 celt.
12 mortars.
6 cup stones.
12 hammer stones."

Figure XV is an exhibition of some of the more important finds from the village site.

Bear jaws are shown to the right. Next to them (18,778-9) are two of the perforated mussel shell hoes. Below is the pipe.

A string of cylindrical bone beads encircles the objects on the left of the plate. Bone awls are to the left of the shells.

18,776 is a decorated shell. Many of these were taken from the pits.

Lying between awls 18,771 and 18,473 is the fox head (broken) perforator. It is not sufficiently large to be clearly seen.

Perforated teeth (beads or earrings), and the peculiar triangular awls (some of them of turkey spurs) are shown in the center.

Antlers and larger bones are to the extreme left. The grooved tibiæ scrapers lie in the lower left hand corner.

The American Archæologist kindly permitted me to reproduce Messrs. Coover and Bean's article together with the illustration. Their exploration was productive of some interesting additional discoveries:

FIGURE XV. MATERIAL FROM THE BAUM VILLAGE SITE.

"A RARE ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIND MADE BY A. B. COOVER AND L. M. BEAN, OF ROXABELL, OHIO.*

"Near Bourneville, a small village situated on Paint Creek, twelve miles southwest of Chillicothe, Ohio, there are to be found numerous earth-works, the work of prehistoric man.

"The valley abounds in mounds, forts (in circles and squares) and numerous village sites. On the farm of Mr. Ed. Baum and Mr. Pollard Hill, lies a village site of about thirty acres in extent, which is rich in instruments of bone, made by an ancient race of people of whom we have no definite history, except as we unearth specimens of their work.

"Prof. Moorehead and Dr. Loveberry, of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, were at work on this site some three or four months ago, and made a number of finds of bone instruments and broken pottery, all of which were shipped to Columbus by Prof. Moorehead for the Society.

"A. B. Coover and L. M. Bean, of Roxabell, Ohio, assisted by William Kerran, of Bourneville (each of whom have a private collection of ancient Indian and Mound Builders' relics) having obtained permission from Mr. Baum to make a number of excavations on his farm, camped on the farm of Mr. Hill near by, prepared to stay a week or more, and to give the ground a search.

"The first pit dug extended over a space of 8 x 18 feet and two feet deep, the work being done with trowels. It took two days to examine that amount of ground.

"From this excavation were taken several awls made of bone, arrow points of bone and stone, bone beads, scrapers made from the leg bone of deer, a bone ornament about three inches long, a part of which is missing, and hundreds of pieces of pottery and animal bones.

"Bones and pottery getting scarce in pit No. 1, another pit was started about one hundred and twenty feet to the north, and at the depth of eighteen inches from the surface a number of creek boulders were struck, and upon closer examination were found to have been arranged in a systematic order, in the shape

* From the American Archœologist, October, '97.

of a small oblong mound eighteen inches wide and 30 inches long. The dirt was carefully removed from the stones, and a photograph of the pile taken. In removing the stones a count was kept and there were found to be sixty-six boulders the size of a man's fist. The stones had been arched over a bed of ashes about twelve inches thick, and contained a number of animal bones, and near the center of the ashes lay a polished stone four

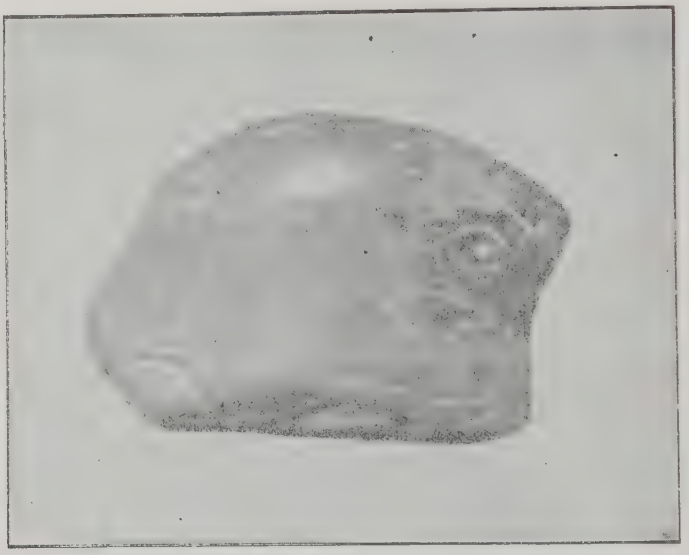


FIGURE XVI. CARVINGS ON STONE. BAUM VILLAGE SITE.
Courtesy of the American Archæologist Co., Columbus.

and one-fourth inches long, three and one-half inches wide and one and one-half inches thick. On one side was carved a human eye, below the eye an excellent image of a turtle; at the lower right hand corner a fox or wolf; to the left, zigzag marks with dots; under all runs a line the full extent of the stone. The reverse side is plain and the stone shows the marks of having been exposed to intense heat. The mound or arch lay the longest way, due north and south.

"About five feet to the south were unearthed the skulls of two deers, a bear, and what was taken to be a buffalo and moose. The five skulls lay in a quarter circle, and each facing the mound

of stones, as if for some special purpose. Near the mound and the skulls were found perforated mussell shells, bone awls, one bone celt, one perfect bone fishhook, one piece of stone pipe, bone beads and countless pieces of pottery and animal bones which were broken. Sixty feet to the south of the arch of boulders were unearthed two skeletons of men of average height. Both skeletons lay on their backs with their heads to the north. One lay at the depth of only ten inches from the surface, the other being at the depth of two feet, and appeared to have been encased in black walnut, large pieces of which were taken from around it in a charred state, having, like most everything else found at this place, been subjected to the action of fire. Near the skeletons were found a number of bone beads, shell hoes, bone awls, several flint points and scrapers, large polished teeth and quite a lot of broken ornamented pottery. It was estimated that about ten thousand pieces of animal, bird and fish bones, and three thousand pieces of broken pottery were unearthed in the five days' work."

A communication from Mr. Coover gives additional details. Several days more were spent at the site and excavations were made in various parts of the field. The boulder arch was found one hundred and twenty feet north of our pits, the first skeleton sixty feet north.

Of one of the later pits Mr. Coover says:

"The sides of the pit were found to be burned to a red color in places. In an excavation fourteen feet long were found four bone awls, arrow points of stone, several tips of deer horns which had been dressed to a point and a hole drilled in the base, as if to receive the shaft."

It is to be regretted that the appropriation was insufficient, for the entire field should have been examined as was the famous village and cemetery at Madisonville.

With other village sites of the Scioto this has much in common. While larger than the average, yet it can be said that it presents somewhat of a lower culture than others connected with great earthworks. It will be observed* that there are no great number of burial mounds within or without the enclosure.

* See Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley.

FIGURE XVI*a*. MOUND NEAR DELAWARE.

Those two to four miles west, along Paint creek, may have been used by the occupants of the enclosure for their interments, but one cannot say positively. The character of the relics and the lack of evidence of high aboriginal art at this place are taken as evidence of the primitive character of the villagers. I do not think that they were the same people who erected the earthwork, or of the same tribe. At Hopewell's, Hopetown,[1] Harnesse's and Mound City fragments of elaborately carved shells, rings, polished pipes, both effigy and platform, etc., have been found. None of these truly polished, ceremonial, or artistic objects were found in the ash pits or on the habitation sites of the Baum village site. The place is interesting in that it shows a lower degree of culture than that evinced on the sites above mentioned. This naturally brings forward the question — Is this a later occupation? Is it an earlies one? I am convinced that it antedates the construction of the works. I do not think it is of the historic period and if Indian, of some tribe which knew little

or naught of agriculture. No pestles were found. The bones of animals and the unios from the creek found in such profusion would indicate the presence of a hunting tribe. No foreign substances were present. Flint Ridge material was absent. Neither the effigy of the fox, nor the rude sculpture upon the pipe can be classed with the beautiful carvings of other Scioto valley culture-sites.

It is interesting to find a site which cannot be classed with those referred to above. It shows more than one occupation of the valley and it will aid in settling a few of the remaining problems connected with pre-Columbian life in this famous region.

There are several small mounds connected with the great "Bourneville enclosure." Most of them occupy gateways and were probably erected for protection. Three of these were explored and aside from traces of fire upon the base lines nothing was found. There were neither bones nor objects.

"We secured permission to work a mound on Mr. Medcalf's farm. This lies just east of the Baum village upon the same terrace and in the same township. It stood six feet high and had a diameter of seventy-five feet. We dug a fair-sized trench in it. At the depth of four feet we found charcoal and ashes in several beds. These were rather small. In one of the beds of ashes were fifty spear heads which had suffered from heat, being broken and burned. They were in a little heap near the center of the mound. (See Figure X, No. 15). There were two fragmentary skeletons here and the skulls of each could not be saved. The soil was brown clay.

"We then moved to a gravel pit on his farm where several skeletons had been found, but we were not able to find bones. We opened three stone graves upon Spruce hill but found nothing. They seem to have been disturbed by previous parties."

Spruce hill is well known. An extensive stone fortification crowns the summit. The walls are low, but originally must have been of a considerable height. It is described in Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, Squier and Davis. Also in Fort Ancient, page 103.

"Mr. Dill of Bainbridge permitted us to work a mound of his three miles west of the village site. (See Figure XVII). It

lies upon the second terrace, is one hundred feet in diameter and four feet high. Our trench was ten feet long, eight feet wide and four feet deep. It was constructed of red sandy soil and very soft. The usual evidences of fire were there. One large white spear head, three inches in length, was our only find. (See Figure X, No. 13).

"Mr. Dill permitted the exploration of a second mound some few hundred yards west of this one. It had been partly removed and now stands seven feet high. Material, red clay. Our trench was 16 feet long, nine feet wide and seven feet deep. Fire traces were abundant upon the bottom. Near the center was a child's skeleton some two or three years of age. Bone beads lay about the neck; there was also a decayed mussell shell.

"East of this mound and not far distant is a mound belonging to the Dill estate. Miss Emma Dill kindly permitted us to examine it. Dimensions, one hundred feet diameter, five feet high. Our trench was 20 x 15 x 5 feet. Near the surface in the

FIGURE XVII. THE ED. DILL MOUND, NEAR BAINBRIDGE.

FIGURE XVIII. THE PRICER MOUNDS, NEAR BAINBRIDGE.

center was a decayed skeleton of an intrusive burial. The base of the skull of another skeleton near it exhibited the Inca bone. It was also decayed. On the bottom was a fine black flint knife, leaf shaped. (See Figure X, No. 12).

As the mounds had all been located upon the map along this valley the party moved to Waverly. Mr. McKenzie, who owns a group of three mounds just south of the town, gave permission for explorations. The large mound of the group, lying near the Norfolk and Western railroad tracks, is shown in Figure XX.

Pike county contains many mounds. The group near Piketon, several miles south of Waverly, is probably better known than other mound centers in this county. The famous graded way, the tumuli upon Judge Van Meter's estate are also frequently visited by archæologists. About Waverly, at the time of settlement, there were numbers of tumuli in the rich bottoms of the Scioto, which have since disappeared under cultivation.

"The mounds owned by Mr. McKenzie are upon the second terrace of the Scioto. Two of them are small. The three form a triangle thus:

C

A B

"July 16. We located upon the group mentioned. While the men prepared for work I located ten or twelve stone graves upon Mr. A. Lee's farm south of the town.

"The small mound is forty feet in diameter and three feet high. We dug out its center, sixteen by ten by eight feet. (See A in plan above.) It was built of rich, dark earth. In the center was a skeleton on the bottom, headed northwest and extended. It was finely preserved. Bone beads were about the neck. (See Figure XXII. This plate, devoted entirely to finds in and around

FIGURE XIX. THE LARGER PRICER MOUND, BAINBRIDGE.

Waverly, need not be described in the text. The explanation in detail, opposite the figure, will give the locality of each object.) There were two copper buttons clasped in each hand, the arms being extended along the sides. There was nothing else in this structure.

"The mound (B) was fifty feet in diameter and four feet high. It was of the same material. The entire central portion was opened. A skeleton lay upon the bottom in the center, headed north and extended. There were two fragmentary skeletons near the surface and these were intrusive, I think.

"In each hand was a copper button. Under the skull was a small wooden button about the size of a five cent piece, which was copper covered.

"The large mound (C, shown in Figure XX), which has been somewhat reduced by cultivation, now stands six feet high and one hundred and twenty-five feet across the base. The soil in it is similar to that noticed in the others. Our trench started from the west side and was thirty feet wide. We found one skeleton ten feet southwest of the center, headed north. Like nearly all burials, it lay on the back, extended, and was five feet eight inches in length. The earth was all of a dark color about it. None of the bones could be saved. Just north of this one, upon a well marked base line, was another body. It lay a little to the east. It was of medium size, decayed and the soil about it was very dark. About five feet from the center of the mound was a third skeleton, headed south and partly buried in sand. Around it was a dark outline. The teeth showed medium age. Its height, five feet nine inches. We could not preserve it. Nearer the center was the fourth burial. It lay upon a raised platform of earth, one foot high, and all around the skeleton was pure, white sand. It was five feet and nine inches long and from the teeth I should judge it was of middle age. The muscular attachments of the bones were well developed. Bones were large but not massive. (Figure XXI shows the skeleton after having been carefully "brought out" by the hand trowels and whisk brooms, so that the bones could be well shown in a photograph. Because of the lack of contrast between bones and earth it is extremely difficult to procure a clear view of a skeleton.) This was one

FIGURE XX. THE LARGEST MCKENZIE MOUND, WAVERLY.

of the best mound skeletons I ever uncovered. Three arrow heads lay along the right arm and between the knees was a piece of worked antler.

"South of this was the skeleton of a child of but a few months of age. Beneath the child's skeleton, but a few inches, was the skeleton of a doe. Among the bones was the calcis of an adult. It was unusually large. Four feet north and four feet deep was the tibiæ of a skeleton surrounded by spear heads. They were twenty in number, twelve being broken. No other bones or traces were found.

"Four feet east of this cache of spears on the base line lay another extended skeleton. On the left wrist was a copper bracelet. The bones could not be taken out entire. About three feet east of the center, lying on the base line and in a small bed of ashes about twelve inches in diameter, was a cremated skeleton. With the bones were an arrow-head and a polished celt. Southeast was the skeleton of a child near the surface. From

indications I think it to have been a recent interment — probably of the whites. This concluded the exploration of this mound."

About one and one-half miles north of Waverly, upon a hill some one hundred and fifty feet high, stand three large glacial kames. The people of the neighborhood consider them mounds and their rounded appearance would lead one to suppose them to be artificial. But upon investigation they were found to be of unmistakable glacial origin, being composed entirely of gravel. They extend in an even line. The smaller ones to the north contained nothing. Several holes were sunk at various points upon their summits, but nothing of importance was found.

To the south, and upon a point of the hill, is a kame full thirty feet high. Its summit is somewhat elongated, extending, perhaps, one hundred feet north and south. The plow has turned up many bits of bone. A careful investigation of the kame revealed fourteen burials. Most of these were extended, say twenty inches from the surface and for the most part well preserved, save the crania. Of the latter two were secured whole. They are exceedingly thick and rather incline towards the brachycephalic type. No boulders or flat stones surrounded them. The burials were simply made in the gravel. There is no indication that the summit of the kame had been artificially rounded. Numerous humeri, tibiæ and other bones which might exhibit anatomical peculiarities were removed entire. The vertebræ were uniformly decayed. Some of the other small bones were also not sufficiently preserved to admit of their being removed.

With the fourteen skeletons were numerous portions of others which lay a little above them. These had doubtless been disturbed by the plow. It might not be an exaggeration to state that some twenty-five interments had originally been made. No common direction could be observed, as they headed towards all points of the compass. The fine yellow sand and gravel of the top of the kame afforded soil easy of excavation, and the rapid penetration of the water (when it rained) through the gravel left the bones dry and thus assured their preservation. There were sixty bone beads with two of the skeletons. A child seemed to have been the object of affection on the part of its parents, for it had with it three bone chisels, a

FIGURE XXI. SKELETON FROM THE LARGEST MCKENZIE MOUND.

flint knife and a shell ornament. There were two spear-heads with another interment. These were exceedingly heavy and ill-made, being five inches long and very narrow. All these burials did not cover a space to exceed fifty feet square.

DESCRIPTION OF FIGURE XXII.

All from McKenzie mounds, Waverly group.

No. 1, phalanges of skeletons which held copper buttons in their hands. These are colored by verdegris, but the figure does not show this clearly.

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 are copper buttons.

Nos. 9 and 10, wooden button surrounded by copper.

No. 11, a bracelet found upon the wrist of a skeleton in the large mound.

No. 12, a celt found with the cremated skeleton.

No. 13, child's skeleton buried just above the doe.

No. 14, the calcis of an adult; museum number, 15,618.

No. 15, tibiæ surrounded by spears (large mound).

"We secured permission from Mr. James Corwin to work two small mounds which lie one and one-half miles north of Waverly. The largest one is five feet high and fifty-five feet base. It is made of yellow clay. After digging a large hole, nothing was found save the usual traces of fire.

"One hundred yards northwest is a small mound three feet high and thirty feet base. There was not a trace of skeletons in it, but on the bottom was a very heavy black streak, and in it were several objects the like of which we had not found previously. It must have resulted from the decay of skins or hides. There were no ashes. In a swamp near the foot of the hill is similar soil. It may have come from there. In the center were whole and broken bar-amulets, galena ceremonials and a fine bird ceremonial. (See Figure X. No. 19 is the bird ceremonial. Nos. 20 and 21 are the bar-amulets. No. 22, museum number 15,830, is the galena object.) Flint arrow-heads, a plumb bob and some galena ore were found.

"In the bottoms along the Scioto, two and one-half miles north of Waverly, is a large village site upon Mr. Corwin's land. We dug a number of trenches and pits. We found quantities of the usual village debris: pottery, shells, broken relics, etc. There were many dark colored spots and numerous beds of ashes. About a half bushel of material was secured at this place.

"The bottom mound lay back from the river two hundred yards. It was three feet high and one hundred and twenty-five feet base, made up of hard black, mucky soil. Our trench only revealed cremated bones and charcoal, ashes, etc.

"Mr. Charles Foster, two miles north of town, permitted us to dig a hill top mound upon his farm. It is ten feet high and one hundred and sixty feet base. It is composed of red clay, and at the bottom is a black streak two feet thick. I think that it came from the swamp referred to above. There was a skeleton on the bottom, headed north and decayed. There were quantities of decayed wood about it. One arrow head was in

such a position among the bones as to lead me to believe that it killed the individual.

"Mr. Corwin had secured permission for us to dig several mounds upon his father-in-law's farm near Omega on the east side of the Scioto. On July 28th we went thither. There are two mounds near his barn, one being four feet high and one hundred and fifty feet base, and the other about the same size. They are not far from the Scioto. The first was composed of black soil and there were traces of fire. Nothing of importance found. The second (one hundred yards east) contained a decayed skeleton and some fragments. The base line was distinct. Another mound in the bottom some two hundred yards distant was not investigated.

"Three-fourths of a mile east, on the high hills overlooking the river is a mound eight feet high and one hundred and fifty feet base. Material, red clay and sandstone spalls. Pieces of worked flint and two arrow heads constituted the finds. That was all. A second hill mound lies one hundred yards to the

FIGURE XXII. OBJECTS FROM THE MOUNDS.

west. It is four and one-half feet high and one hundred and twenty-five feet base. We uncovered a skeleton in the center, two feet from the surface. Three arrow heads lay by it.

"Col. Jas. Moore of Chillicothe, living two miles north of Waverly, owns a field in which beds of mica have been revealed by the plow. We were unable to locate the spot.

"July 29th. We started for Jackson, driving to Beavertown we located some earthworks and mounds near there and brought a small collection. (See Figure X, No. 16. A fine chisel which was in the collection purchased). Driving into Jackson the next day we were greatly assisted by Mr. F. E. Bingham, who drove out with me and secured permissions for explorations. We began work upon Mr. Burn's mound, three miles southeast of Jackson. It is made up of red clay and is five feet high, one hundred feet base. We trenched in thoroughly, finding some arrow heads and a very fine slate ornament. We found no traces of any skeletons or of fire.

"A third of a mile southwest on the same terrace of the run on which the above mound was located is another. It is five feet high and fifty feet base. There were traces of fire. I found one fine leaf shaped arrow head.

"We drove six miles southeast to Mr. Harshberger's farm. In the bottom appeared to be a large mound, but upon examination we found it to be composed of solid rock covered by soil. It is the nearest approach of a natural formation to a mound that I ever saw.

"Returning to Jackson we went up Salt creek to Richmond, locating mounds along the route.

"After reporting at Columbus, the survey was ordered by my chief, Prof. Moorehead, to proceed up the Scioto to its headwaters and obtain a general idea of the character of ancient remains along the river. Mounds were not supposed to exist in numbers, but there might be evidence of other works, such as graves, kame burials, etc. And these might indicate the presence of another tribe, and one different from that occupying the southern portion of Ohio.

"From Columbus we drove up the Olentangy to Delaware. Mr. R. E. Hills of the city, one of the trustees of the Society, ren-

dered us much assistance. Mr. Taggert and others also told us of mounds. We drove to Galena on the Big Walnut (creek). Near there, on Big Walnut creek, is a circle which surrounds a mound. There was a village site and a workshop near by and we looked over the surface carefully and found quite a number of specimens. The site did not seem to have been occupied for a very long time. We trenched the mound, but found little of interest. It is seven feet high and one hundred feet diameter. The circle is about two hundred feet diameter with the moat on the inside. There is an enclosure or fortification here but it has been so nearly obliterated that I can barely make out its contour.

"From here we returned to Delaware and drove to the Scioto on the west. I took a side trip to Magnetic Springs, locating mounds, village sites and gravel burials. We followed the Scioto to Mr. Dill's farm near Prospect in the northwest part of Delaware county, where there is a group of mounds along the banks of the Scioto. One of these is one hundred and twenty-five feet base and six feet high. The other one is larger. Having secured permission we began operations upon the small one, fifty yards east of the large one. Three pits were dug, each six feet long, five feet wide and five feet deep. It was composed of a gravelly soil. One skeleton found was badly decayed. Headed northwest, decayed. Three arrow heads were near the head. The hardness of the ground prevented its removal. The largest mound had been explored.

"We drove to Prospect, and from thence to Green Camp, locating remains along the way. At Green Camp, upon Mr. S. Porter's farm, there was a stone grave. The foot bones of the skeleton were painted with red ochre. Large quantities of the paint were found at the feet. Fragments of a large jar and some beads also lay near the feet. A bow and quiver, a pick shaped ceremonial, several double-pointed chisels, mica in large quantities, arrows, scrapers, spear heads, celts, etc., were found with the skeleton by Mr. Porter. We simply reopened the grave in order to ascertain if he had overlooked anything. An old Indian trail passes near this grave along the top of a small hill. There

is a spring near by and the Scioto river is not far distant. The bones were six feet below the surface and covered by many stones. There is little soil above the stones and the locality of the grave was ascertained by the plow striking them."

Some of these objects are shown in Figure X:

No. 1, a piece of mica; No. 2, a double-pointed chisel; No. 3, a flat stone, polished or unfinished ornament; No. 4, a notched bone fish spear or harpoon. These latter are exceedingly rare, only a few having been found in Ohio. Several were dug up in the famous cemetery at Madisonville, and two found near Cincinnati were described in the Quarterly of the Cincinnati Historical Society for 1896, by Professor Smith, curator at that time.

It is unfortunate that the entire collection from this interesting grave could not have been secured by our Society for preservation.

"From here we went to Marion, and from thence northeast until the Sandusky river was reached. Following the river we soon reached Bucyrus and called upon General Finley, who is much interested in archæology. General Finley is confident that the Indian village of Secium was located near Bucyrus and that it was a most important place in primitive times, marking the being near the portage from the Sandusky to the lake, from the Scioto to the Sandusky, and that all canoes or traveling parties ascending the river stopped at this point.

"We dug twenty-five or thirty pits and field hunted over fifty acres, but could not find the least trace of Secium.

"We continued on to Upper Sandusky. Nearly all of the way the river was followed. Some information was obtained from resident collectors.

"Six miles north, on Mr. J. Hayman's farm, is a modern Indian (probably Wyandotte) burial ground. There were at least fifty graves here, but all had been opened by curiosity seekers and the bones strewn about the surface. We did some work, but were not able to locate any interments.

"At McCullomville we heard of some mounds near Sycamore and drove east to that place. But all the mounds were glacial kames and contained few burials. At Tiffin and Fort

Seneca we secured some additions to the map. From Fremont, where we found little in the way of prehistoric remains, we proceeded to Port Clinton and found a few small mounds, all of which had been explored. From here we drove to Lakeside and located some stone graves and small mounds. We dug in a stone mound at Lakeside sixty feet in diameter and three feet high. There was nothing in it but fragments of bones. We took the boat to Sandusky and from thence drove east along the lake shore, making observations.

"Turning southeast we ascended the Huron river and secured some locations for the map. A few relics were bought at these various northern places. From here we traveled to Belleville by the way of Mansfield. At Fredericktown we dug in some graves but made no discoveries. There were six mounds and four earthworks near Fredericktown. By the way of Mount Vernon we drove to Newark and then on to Glenford. Near the latter place, on Isaac Zartman's farm, is a mound by the banks of a small creek. It was fifty-seven feet wide and five feet high. Material, yellow clay. Pieces of flint and some knives were scattered through it. The base line was fairly distinct. Some one had partly explored it, but we could not learn if discoveries had been made. We found charcoal and ashes in abundance. A stone mound not far from this one was opened. Dimensions, seventy-five feet base and three feet high. The trench run through it took out most of the structure. We found arrow heads, knives and some ornaments in it, also evidences of great heat. At Somerset the survey disbanded and the field work came to an end August 28th, 1897."

THE STATE ARCHÆOLOGIC MAP.

The additions during the past year to the map have been considerable, but they have not reached my expectations. To complete this important work there should be an appropriation of at least $2000 per year. At present there is no provision for the work and the records are obtained through correspondence or by the Curator during his travels. This latter method is entirely satisfactory so far as it goes, but the survey cannot cover more than a small portion of six or eight counties in a season, as its

time is spent in excavating and there is only opportunity to record such monuments as are heard of in the region wherein it is at work. Two or three employees of the Society should visit various portions of the state; especially such as are not represented on the map. They should travel through all the townships in each county. At this rate it would take few summers to record all monuments of which there remain a trace. It seems unfortunate that the map — begun with such zeal and assisted throughout by private contribution — should not be pushed to completion. It is the most important work ever undertaken by the Society and has been recognized generally among scientific institutions of the East.

In the enumeration it will be seen that a number of changes have been made. These are due in part to errors of correspondents, to the study of our map up to date, to separation into proper classes, etc. Some marks were removed, and with all additions the present number stands 3,292, a gain of only 449 over last year. We can not be too careful in the tabulation of data for the map and I am pleased that now, so far as it has progressed, there are but few errors.

One of the changes — and an important one — came about as a study of the map itself rather than the field.

Squares and circles are often in combination with valley enclosures. Last year the student who called off the various works to me made the natural mistake of counting all the squares or circles whether by themselves or connected with other embankments. He reported seventy-four. There are that number in the state, but only thirty-seven stand by themselves. The others enter into the "enclosure division." He also included mound-groups with enclosures, thus making the total of enclosures greater than the actual number shown this year. By enclosure is meant a group of embankments, mounds, sites, etc., and the one mark for that class may stand for as many as thirty monuments.

A careful estimate of the total monuments recorded so far for results is an estimate of 8,230; assuming that each mark averages two and one-half works.

I only fear for errors in one or two classes. The distinction

between works upon hills and those in the valleys seems to puzzle both correspondents and the surveys. The differences between various works are invariably correctly given, but the "on hill or in valley" sign is often left off the county tracings. I think this is especially true of the stone graves. Most of them occur upon high hills and I cannot agree that so few (as indicated by the map) are found there. The co-laborers on the map have inadvertently omitted the hill-top sign.

But be these small omissions as they may, the map as a whole has sufficiently progressed for us to obtain a pretty clear idea of monument distribution.

Certain inferences were published in last year's report. These have been strengthened and some of them can now be classed as facts.

The southern part of the state (omitting the Scioto Valley and the lower Muskingum) abounds in stone graves and stone mounds; the upper Scioto in gravel or kame burials, graves and small village sites. The tumili and works found in the hills back from the Scioto, Muskingum or Miamis may be classed as not belonging to the higher culture of the people of the combination-works or enclosures. Glacial kame burials are found to be exceedingly numerous, and, as stated last year, furnish a fruitful field for study, being of an earlier or more primitive type than the mounds and enclosures or village sites.

The map also emphasizes this fact: that culture was local and no "high civilization of the Mound Builders," can be assigned. We must account for the presence of many tribes of varying degrees of intelligence, none of them above middle or upper barbarism and many of them being in upper savagery. It indicates a long mound-building period by a fairly limited population rather than an occupation of the entire area by large numbers of people for a short time.

SUMMARY OF PREHISTORIC EARTH AND STONE REMAINS IN THE STATE OF OHIO ACCORDING TO KIND.

Mounds of earth not located upon high hills	1,899
Mounds of earth located upon high hills	376
Mounds of stone not located upon high hills	43
Mounds of stone located upon high hills	13

Village sites	253
Enclosures: This includes all "combination" or "religious" works, irregular in form, or of geometric designs found in the valleys	133
Enclosures upon high hills. These may be considered as fortifications	7
Circles of earth not on high hills	19
Squares of earth not on high hills	37
Crescents of earth not on high hills	17
Groups of stone graves not on high hills	135
Groups of stone graves on high hills	8
Stone fortifications or enclosures upon high hills	4
Glacial kame burials (skeletons found in gravel knolls and supposed to represent interments by a different tribe from that burying in the mounds)	225
Flint quarries	4
Effigies	4
Groups of earth mounds not on high hills	14
Groups of earth mounds on high hills. (These groups may contain from three to twenty-five mounds each)	93
Parallel Walls	8
Total	3,292

SUMMARY ACCORDING TO COUNTY.

Ross	298	Greene	41
Licking	228	Clarke	41
Pickaway	222	Wyandotte	40
Butler	162	Marion	39
Jackson	150	Brown	37
Fairfield	141	Fulton	36
Franklin	137	Hamilton	36
Perry	102	Highland	35
Washington	92	Ashland	35
Clinton	84	Morgan	34
Delaware	74	Wayne	33
Adams	71	Clermont	33
Muskingum	70	Montgomery	32
Athens	62	Fayette	28
Pike	60	Erie	27
Knox	59	Vinton	27
Warren	56	Union	26
Scioto	54	Lawrence	23
Coshocton	52	Madison	22
Hardin	46	Miami	21

Summit	21	Islands in Lake Erie	8
Hocking	20	Sandusky	7
Loraine	19	Auglaize	7
Morrow	19	Allen	7
Holmes	18	Noble	6
Williams	18	Portage	6
Tuscarawas	16	Harrison	6
Darke	16	Wood	6
Gallia	15	Medina	6
Lucas	15	Hancock	4
Belmont	15	Paulding	3
Huron	14	Monroe	3
Crawford	13	Mahoning	3
Cuyahoga	13	Seneca	2
Ashtabula	13	Henry	2
Richland	13	Geauga	2
Lake	11	Putnam	1
Ottawa	10	Logan	1
Stark	10	Shelby	1
Jefferson	10	Carroll	1
Champaign	9	Columbiana	1
Mercer	9	Van Wert	1
Trumbull	8	Guernsey	1
Preble	8		
Defiance	8	Total	3,292

ROSS COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Mound Group.	Circle.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Square.	Crescent.	Group of Stone Graves.	Stone Mound.
Paxton	8—3′	1	....	1	....	..	..	..	1	..
Paint	3—3′	..	1′	2	....	2	..	..	1	..
Buckshire	5—2′	2	....	....	....	2	..	..	..	1
Concord	3—2′	..	1	1	....	..	1	..	..	..
Twin	17—6′	2	2′	...	5—2′	1	..	..	..	1
Deerfield	6—2′	1	....	....	....	..	..	..	..	..
Greene	5—12′	..	2	....	....	2	2	..	..	..
Colerain	1	..	....	....	....	..	..	..	..	..
Springfield	20—4′	.	1	....	1	..	..	..	..	..
Liberty	21—3′	.	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Jefferson	9—3′	..	1	....	....	..	..	..	..	..
Franklin	9—3′	2	2	1	....	..	..	..	..	..
Huntington	8- 4′	..	....	2	1	..	..	..	..	..
Scioto	31	..	2	3—1′	4	..	..	1	..	..
Union	17—8′	2	1	5	2	2	3	1	..	..
Totals	218	10	16	17	16	9	6	2	2	2

LICKING COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Circle.	Mound Group.	Stone Mound.	Effigy.	Quarry.
Bennington	....	1	..	..	....	..	..	..	..
Burlington	7	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Washington	6—1′	..	1	..	2—1′	..	..	..	..
Eaton	4—1′	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
Mary Anne	1	1	..	..	...	..	..	..	..
Newton	9	..	1	..	....	..	..	..	..
McKean	5	..	..	..	....	..	..	..	..
Monroe	1′	1	..	..	....	..	..	..	..
Jersey	6—1′	..	..	..	....	..	..	..	..
St. Albans	4—6′	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Granville	8—3′	2	2	..	....	..	..	1	..
Newark	13—1′	1	3	..	3	..	..	..	..
Madison	11—6′	..	..	4	....	..	..	..	..
Hanover	16	1	..	2	3	..	..	..	..
Hopewell	3	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	2
Franklin	16	..	..	..	1	..	3	..	..
Licking	10—3′	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..
Union	8—7′	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
Harrison	3—2′	..	..	..	....	..	..	..	..
Lima	2′	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..
Bowling Green	11—2′	..	..	..	....	..	1	..	..
Totals	177	8	10	6	18	2	4	1	2

PICKAWAY COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Mound Group.	Square.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Group of Stone Graves.	Stone Mound.	Parallel Walls.	Circle.	Crescent.	Effigy.
Salt Creek	4	..	..	1	..	1	..	....	..	..	..	1
Wayne	8—1′	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	3	..	..
Perry	1—2′	..	..	..	..	..	3	....	..	..	..	..
Monroe	2—5′	..	..	..	..	..	..	1—1′	1	1	2	..
Jackson	17	1	..	1	..	3	..	....	..	1	..	..
Circleville	4	1	2	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..
Washington	6—5′	..	1	..	..	2	..	....	..	..	..	..
Walnut	27	4	2	1	3	5	..	1	..	5	1	..
Madison	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	..	..	1	..
Harrison	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	....	..	1	..	..
Scioto	10—3′	1	1	..	..	..	1	....	..	3	..	..
Darby	4	1	1	..	..	..	..	....	..	..	..	..
Muhlenberg	14—1′	..	1	..	1	..	..	....	..	2	..	..
Pickaway	9—3′	..	..	2	1	..	3	....	..	..	..	..
Deer Creek	5—3′	2	..	..	..	..	4	....	..	..	..	..
Totals	140	12	8	5	5	12	11	7	1	16	4	1

BUTLER COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Mound Group.	Enclosure.	Square.	Circle.
Morgan	10	..	..	..	..	..
Riley	15	..	..	..	1	..
Oxford	10	..	3	..	..	..
Milford	3	..	..	..	2	1
Hanover	10	1	..	..	..	..
Ross	22	..	8	2	..	..
Fairfield	8	..	..	3	..	..
St. Clair	18	..	3	1	..	..
Wayne	5	..	..	..	2	..
Madison	10	..	1	..	..	..
Lemon	4	..	..	..	..	..
Liberty	4	..	1	..	..	..
Union	9	..	..	3	..	..
Totals	128	1	16	9	5	1

JACKSON COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Square.	Circle.	Enclosure.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Jefferson	2—2′	..	..	1	..	..
Madison	3′	..	..	..	..	..
Bloomfield	1—4′	..	..	..	..	..
Franklin	6—14′	5	1	..	..	..
Jackson	2	..	..	1′	..	3
Milton	7	..	..	..	..	..
Liberty	13—2′	..	..	..	..	..
Washington	5—10′	..	..	..	..	..
Coal	22—27′	9	2	..	1	..
Scioto	3—3′	1	..	..	..	..
Totals	126	15	3	2	1	3

FAIRFIELD COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Circle.	Square.	Mound Group.	Group of Stone Graves.	Quarry.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Violet	4	1	..	....	..	..	..	..	..
Liberty	1	..	..	....	..	..	..	..	..
Walnut	1	1	..	....	..	..	..	..	..
Bloom	7—4′	..	..	2′	1	..	..	..	..
Greenfield	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Pleasant	2—1′	..	..	....	..	..	..	..	..
Berne	10—2′	..	..	....	..	..	..	..	..
Hocking	11—1′	..	..	1—1′	..	..	..	..	..
Amanda	10—2′	2	1	1	1	..	..	..	1
Clear Creek	23	1	..	....	..	..	..	1	2
Madison	3	1	..	....	..	..	..	1	2
Rush Creek	6—3′	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
Richland	11—3′	1	2	1′	..	2	1	..	..
Totals	106	8	4	8	2	2	1	2	8

FRANKLIN COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Circle.	Enclosure.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Madison	8	2	2	..	..
Hamilton	16	2	3	..	2
Jackson	16	..	3	..	..
Pleasant	10	1	..	..	6
Prairie	3	..	..	..	3
Franklin	4	..	..	1	..
Marion	8	1	..	..	..
Truro	4	..	1	..	..
Jefferson	4	..	..	..	..
Mifflin	2	1	1	..	..
Clinton	1	..	3	..	..
Perry	5	1	2	..	..
Brown	2	..	..	..	..
Washington	1	..	..	..	1
Sharon	9	..	1	..	1
Blendon	5	1	..	..	..
Totals	98	9	16	1	13

PERRY COUNTY.

Townships.	Circle.	Earth Mound.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Village Site.	Mound Group.	Stone Mound.	Enclosure.	Group Stone Graves.
Thorn	1	16—6′	..	1	1	.	1	..
Hopewell	..	9—1′	..	..	..	..	3	..
Madison	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
Richland	1′	14—2′	..	1	.	..	2	1
Redding	..	13—2′	..	1	..	..	..	..
Clayton	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rush Creek	1	6—2′	2	1	..	..	..	..
Jackson	..	1′	..	1	..	..	..	..
Pike	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Salt Lick	..	1	..	..	..	..	.	..
Monroe	..	1	..	..	..	1	.	..
Totals	3	82	2	6	1	1	6	1

WASHINGTON COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Stone Mound.	Enclosure.	Mound Group.	Crescent.
Belpre	1	..	..	..	....	..
Warren	1	..	..	..	....	..
Waterford	9—4′	1	..	..	....	..
Adams	14—9′	5	7	1	4—1′	1
Union	2	..	..	..	1′	..
Muskingum	8—9′	3	..	..	1	..
Marietta	3—2′	..	..	1	1—1′	..
Aurelius	2′	..	..	..	....	..
Totals	64	9	7	2	9	1

CLINTON COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Circle.	Group Stone Graves.	Enclosure.	Square.
Chester	1	..	..	..	..	..
Liberty	3	..	1	..	..	..
Richmond	2	..	..	..	..	..
Adams	8	..	4	..	..	..
Vernon	8	1	1	1	..	..
Greene	1	..	..	..	..	1
Clarke	1	..	..	..	..	..
Jefferson	1	..	..	..	..	..
Washington	5	..	1	..	1	..
Union	42	..	..	..	..	..
Wilson	1	..	..	..	..	..
Totals	73	1	7	1	1	1

DELAWARE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Stone Mound.	Square.	Crescent.	Mound Group.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Kingston	1	..	..	..	..	..	.	..
Marlboro	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oxford	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Porter	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	.
Harlen	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Genoa	4	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Orange	6	.	1	..	..	1	..	..
Liberty	8—1′	1	2	..	..	..	..	..
Concord	6	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Delaware	1	2	.	..	..	..	..	..
Berlin	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Brown	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Scioto	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Trenton	....	1	..	.	..	..	..	..
Berkshire	3	..	.	..	..	..	..	..
Troy	2	1	..	..	.	..	1	..
Radnor	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Thompson	1	1	..	..	..	.	..	..
Totals	52	10	3	1	1	1	2	4

ADAMS COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Stone Mound.	Group Stone Graves.	Stone Enclosure.	Circle.	Mound Group.	Effigy.
Spring	...	..	.	2	..	....	1	..
Monroe	3—1′	1	..	3	..	....	..	..
Greene	4—1′	1	..	3—1′	..	....	..	..
Liberty	....	..	..	1	..	...	..	..
Tiffin	1	1	2	3	1	1	..	..
Jefferson	2	.	3	....	..	....	..	..
Meigs	2	1	..	5	..	1	1	..
Oliver	2	..	..	1	..	....	..	..
Wayne	1	3	..	....	..	1	..	..
Winchester	2	1	..	1	..	3—2′	..	..
Scott	...	1	..	....	..	....	..	..
Franklin	....	..	..	1	..	....	..	..
Bratton	3	..	1	1	..	....	..	1
Totals	22	9	6	22	1	8	2	1

MUSKINGUM COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Circle.	Stone Enclosure.	Mound Group.	Stone Mound.	Group of Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Blue Rock	2—1′	1	..	...	.	1	..	.	..
Cast	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Madison	4—3′	1	..	...	..	..	3	..	..
Salem	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muskingum	....	..	..	...	1	..	..	..	..
Union	1	..	..	..	.	..	..	.	..
Washington	2—4′	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Falls	2 -1′	1	.	...	..	..	..	..	..
Licking	2—2′	.	..	...	..	..	..	..	..
Hopewell	2—2′	.	..	1—1′	..	..	..	..	2
Springfield	7—1′	.	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
Newton	1′	..	..	....	..	..	..	..	..
Brush Creek	2	.	.	1	.	..	..	.	..
Wayne	2—1′	.	..	....	.	1	..	.	..
Harrison	2	..	.	.	.	..	..	..	..
Rich Hill	2 -1′	.	..	...	.	..	.	..	..
Salt Creek	2	..	.	...	.	..	..	..	..
Totals	51	4	1	5	1	2	3	1	2

ATHENS COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Mound Group.	Square.	Circle.
Lee	1	..	..	..	..	..
Alexander	16	1	..	..	..	..
Rome	1′	..	..	..	..	..
Canaan	2	..	..	..	..	..
Waterloo	1—2′	.	..	..	..	..
Athens	5—4′	1	2	2	1	3
Dover	1	..	..	..	..	..
Trimble	1′	..	..	..	..	..
Ames	11—6′	.	..	..	..	..
Totals	51	2	2	2	1	4

PIKE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Mound Group.	Circle.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Effigy.	Group of Stone Graves.	Parallel Walls.
Berry	1	..	..	..	1	2	1	..	..
Mifflin	1—1′	..	..	..	....	..	..	..	..
Brenton	...	..	..	..	....	2	..	..	..
Sun Fish	..	..	..	..	....	1	..	..	..
Newton	2	..	.	..	....	..	..	2	..
Camp Creek	2	..	..	..	....	..	..	1	1
Scioto	5	1	..	..	....	..	..	..	1
Seal	2—1′	1	1	2	1—1′	1	..	..	..
Marion	....	1	..	..	....	..	..	..	..
Jackson	7—2′	..	..	1	....	..	..	..	..
Pee Pee	13	2	..	4	....	1	..	3	..
Totals	28	5	1	7	3	7	1	6	2

KNOX COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Circle.	Square.	Group of Stone Graves.
Clay	5	..	..	..	..	..
Morgan	6	..	..	..	..	..
Miller	1	..	..	..	..	..
Millford	4	..	..	..	..	..
Hilliar	2	..	..	..	..	..
Clinton	4	..	..	..	..	..
Pleasant	1	..	..	..	..	..
Butler	1	..	..	..	..	..
Union	4	..	.	..	..	..
Howard	1	..	..	..	..	..
Monroe	1′	1	..	..	..	..
Wayne	3—1′	..	..	1	..	..
Morris	7—1′	..	..	5	..	..
Jefferson	2—1′	..	1	..	1	1
Pike	....	..	1	..	..	..
Middlebury	2	..	..	..	..	..
Berlin	1	..	..	.	.	..
Totals	48	1	2	6	1	1

WARREN COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Circle.	Terrace.	Group of Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Franklin	3—1′	..	..	..	..	..	1
Clear Creek	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Turtle Creek	10—1′	..	..	1	1	1	2
Union	5	..	1	..	..	1	..
Deerfield	....	..	1	..	..	1	..
Hamilton	2—2′	..	1	..	..	2	..
Harlan	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wayne	1	3	..	1	2	3	1
Washington	2′	2	1	..	..	..	1
Totals	30	5	4	2	3	7	5

SCIOTO COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Crescent.	Circle.	Mound Group.	Group of Stone Graves.	Stone Mound.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Square.
Valley	3	..	....	..	..	1	....	1′	..	..
Morgan	....	1	....	..	..	..	....	....	..	..
Rush	1	..	2′	..	1	..	....	....	..	..
Washington	1	2	1—1′	..	1	..	2—1′	1′	..	..
Clay	7′	3	1	2	..	1′	1	1′	1	1
Harrison	....	..	1	..	..	..	....	....	..	..
Porter	1	1	....	..	..	..	....	..	..	..
Greene	1	1	....	..	2	..	....	....	..	..
Nile	4—1′	..	....	..	..	..	1′	....	..	..
Madison	1′	..	....	..	..	..	2	....	..	..
Totals	20	8	6	2	4	2	7	3	1	1

COSHOCTON COUNTY.

Townships.	Group Stone Graves.	Earth Mound.	Crescent.	Village Site.	Circle.	Enclosure.	Mound Group.	Stone Mound.	Quarry.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Tuscarawas	..	1—1′	.	2	..	.	..	2	..	1
Tiverton	.	1—1′	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Clarke	..	1′	.	1	..	..	.	.	..	..
Newcastle	..	5	..	.	..	1	.	2′	..	..
Jefferson	..	2—1′	..	..	..	. .	1	1	2	1
Bethlehem	1	4	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1
Keen	..	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jackson	..	1	..	1	.	..	..	..	..	..
Perry	..	1	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	.
Pike	.	1	..	.	.	..	..	..	..	.
Virginia	..	1	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	.
Franklin	..	2	..	.	.	..	..	..	..	.
Oxford	1	1′	..	2	.	..	..	..	..	.
Lafayette	..	2	..	.	1	.	..	1	..	1
Totals	2	26	1	7	1	2	1	7	2	4

HARDIN COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Mound Group.	Circle.	Parallel Walls.	Group Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Washington	1	..	..	..	.	..	..
Jackson	.	..	2	..	..	..	..
Cesna	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pleasant	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Goshen	1	..	..	.	1	.	..
Dudley	2	..	..	1	..	3	..
Buck	..	..	..	..	..	3	4
Taylor Creek	1	..	..	..	..	2	..
Hale	2	..	2	..	..	..	..
McDonald	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Round Head	1	1	.	..	..	..	2
Totals	15	1	4	1	1	8	16

GREENE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Circle.	Enclosure.
Bath	3—1′	1	4	..	..
Beaver Creek	1	..	2	..	..
Sugar Creek	1	..	2	..	..
Miami	3	..	1	..	..
Xenia	8	1	..	2	..
Spring Valley	3	..	..	..	..
Cæsars Creek	2	..	..	..	..
New Jasper	2	..	..	..	..
Jefferson	1	..	..	..	..
Cedarville	2	..	..	..	1
Totals	27	2	9	2	1

CLARKE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Enclosure.	Circle.	Group Stone Graves.
Pike	1	..	..	..	..	..
Bethel	1—1′	1	2	..	..	..
Mad River	1	..	..	1	..	..
German	.....	..	2	..	..	..
Morefield	3	..	..	..	..	..
Springfield	10	1	1	..	..	..
Harmony	4	..	..	1	2	..
Madison	2	..	..	..	..	..
Greene	3	..	3	..	..	1
Totals	26	2	8	2	2	1

WYANDOT COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Village Site.	Group Stone Graves.	Circle.
Sycamore		3			
Tymochtee	6	3	2		
Crane				1	
Salem	2			3	
Richland	2				2
Jackson	4	1			
Mifflin	1				
Pitt	5	2	2		1
Totals	20	9	4	4	3

MARION COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Tully		1		
Richland	3			
Waldo	3		1	1
Pleasant		2	1	2
Green Camp	1	1		3
Marion	3			3
Big Island	3			2
Montgomery		2		
Grand Prairie	2			2
Salt Rock				
Grand	1			
Totals	16	6	2	15

BROWN COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Stone Mound.	Village Site.	Group Stone Graves.	Circle.	Enclosure.	Mound Group.
Perry	2				2	1	
Scott	1			1′			
Pleasant	1′			1—1′			
Lewis	1′	1′					
Jefferson					1		1
Byrd			1	1			
Union	8	1	2		5		
Huntington	1′		1		1		
Eagle	1						
Jackson	1						
Totals	16	2	4	4	9	1	1

FULTON COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Circle.	Crescent.	Mound Group.
Gorham	2	..	2	1	..	..
Franklin	5	1	2	..	..	..
German	..	1	..	..	..	..
Clinton	1	..	..	..	..	..
Dover	1′	1	..	1′	..	..
Chesterfield	..	..	..	2′	1	3′
York	..	..	2	..	..	..
Pike	1—1′	..	1	..	..	4′
Swan Creek	1	..	..	..	..	..
Fulton	2	..	..	..	..	..
Totals	14	3	7	4	1	7

HAMILTON COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Circle.	Parallel Walls.	Square.	Mound Group.	Group of Stone Graves.
Miami	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Delhi	4	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
Mill Creek	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Colerain	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sycamore	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Columbia	2—1′	1	..	..	1	1	2	1
Spencer	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Anderson	5	..	..	2	2	..	2	..
Totals	17	1	2	5	3	2	5	1

HIGHLAND COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Circle.	Stone Mound.	Enclosure.	Parallel Walls.	Group Stone Graves.
Fairfield	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Madison	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Paint	8	..	..	..	..	1	..
Liberty	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Clay	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
White Oak	1—2′	..	1′	..	..	..	..
Concord	4	..	2	1	1	..	..
Jackson	..	1	..	..	1′	..	..
Washington	1′	..	..	..	..	..	..
Brush Creek	2	..	..	..	1	..	..
Totals	25	1	3	1	3	1	1

ASHLAND COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Circle.	Enclosure.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Group of Stone Graves.
Clear Creek	2	..	1	..	1	..
Montgomery	3	1	..	1	2	..
Jackson	1	..	..	..	..	..
Mifflin	..	..	..	..	2	..
Mohican	1	1	..	..	2	1
Hanover	1	1	..	..	1	1
Lake	2	..	..	..	..	..
Green	4	1	1	1	2	1
Totals	14	4	2	2	10	3

MORGAN COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group Stone Graves.	Mound Group.	Circle.
Union	2	..	..	..	..
Windsor	2—1′	1	.	..	1
Meigsville	3′	..	..	..	..
Centre	2—1′	..	..	..	..
Malta	3—2′	1	..	1—1′	..
Deerfield	1	..	1	..	..
Bloomfield	3—3′	..	.	..	..
Morgan	1—1′	..	..	..	..
Totals	28	2	1	2	1

WAYNE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Group of Stone Graves.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Circle.	Crescent.
Canaan	1	..	..	..	..	..
Congress	2	..	..	..	..	..
Chester	2′	..	..	..	1′	..
Plain	1	..	1	..	..	..
Franklin	2—1′	..	1	..	..	..
Wooster	3—1′	1	3	2	..	1
Wayne	..	..	..	1	1	..
Salt Creek	1′	..	..	1	..	..
East Union	1	..	1	..	..	..
Sugar Creek	2	..	..	..	2	..
Totals	17	1	6	4	4	1

CLERMONT COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group Stone Graves.	Enclosure.	Mound Group.	Circle.
Wayne	2—1′	1	1	..	..	..
Miami	3	..	..	2	..	..
Stonelick	2	..	3	..	..	..
Jackson	3	..	..	..	..	..
Williamsburg	1	..	..	..	1	..
Tate	2	..	..	..	..	..
Batavia	2	..	1	..	..	..
Pierce	2	1	..	..	..	..
Ohio	1′	..	..	..	..	..
Monroe	2	..	..	..	..	..
Franklin	1	..	..	..	..	1
Totals	22	2	5	2	1	1

MONTGOMERY COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Stone Mound.	Village Site.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Enclosure.	Mound Group.	Circle.
Randolph	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Butler	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Marion	1	..	..	..	2	..	..
Harrison	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Jackson	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Jefferson	1	..	1	..	1	1	..
Mad River	1	..	..	..	2	..	..
Van Buren	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Washington	1	..	1	..	2	..	2
Miami	2	1	..	..	3	..	..
German	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Perry	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Totals	13	1	3	1	11	1	2

FAYETTE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Group Stone Graves.
Marion	2	..	..
Jefferson	3	..	..
Paint	2	..	..
Union	1	6	..
Wayne	2	1	2
Perry	1	8	..
Totals	11	15	2

ERIE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Enclosure.	Group Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Village Site.
Wilson	3		3		
Huron			1		
Perkins			1′		1
Oxford					
Portland	2	2	3	4	1
Margaretta					
Totals	9	2	10	4	2

VINTON COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Circle.	Stone Mound.	Enclosure.	Group Stone Graves.	Crescent.
Clinton	1					
Richland	2				1	
Eagle	5					
Elk	2					
Swan	2—1′					
Bloom	1—3′	1	2′	1		
Madison	4					1
Totals	21	1	2	1	1	1

UNION COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Mound Group.	Group Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Jackson		1			1
Washington					1
York	2				2
Clayborne					1
Leesburg					2
Liberty					1
Paris	2		2		
Dover	1—1′	1			1
Union		1			
Darby	1			1	1
Jerome					1
Mill Creek	1				1
Totals	8	3	2	1	12

LAWRENCE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.
Upper	3—4′	1
Hamilton	3—1′	..
Fayette	4—4′	..
Union	2	..
Rome	1	..
Totals	22	1

MADISON COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Group Stone Graves.
Pleasant	1	2	..
Oak Run	1	..	..
Union	2	..	..
Deer Creek	2	2	..
Monroe	1	..	..
Darby	..	..	3
Jefferson	6	2	..
Totals	13	6	3

MIAMI COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Mound Group.	Enclosure.	Group Stone Graves.
Washington	2	..	..	..	1	..
Newberry	....	..	..	1′	..	..
Spring Creek	1	1	..	..	1	..
Newton	1	..	..	..	1	..
Bethel	2—1′	1	..	..	..	1
Elizabeth	1—1′	..	..	..	..	1
Monroe	....	..	1	..	..	..
Concord	2	..	..	..	..	..
Staunton	1	..	..	..	..	..
Totals	12	2	1	1	3	2

SUMMIT COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Stone Mound.	Village Site.	Mound Group.	Circle.	Square.	Enclosure.
Northfield	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Boston	1′	..	..	..	..	..	1
Northampton	1	..	1	1	3	1	1
Copley	1	..	..	1	1	..	..
Portage	1	..	1	1	..	..	..
Norton	..	1′	..	..	..	..	..
Tallmadge	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Coventry	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
Totals	5	1	3	4	4	1	3

HOCKING COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Square.	Circle.	Group of Stone Graves.
Perry	2	..	..	..	..	..
Good Hope	....	1	..	..	..	..
Salt Creek	1	1	1	1	1	..
Marion	1	..	..	..	..	..
Falls	1	..	..	..	..	..
Washington	1—3′	..	..	..	..	..
Greene	1	..	..	..	..	..
Star	2—1′	1	..	..	..	1
Totals	13	3	1	1	1	1

LORAINE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Enclosure.	Village Site.	Group Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Bethlehem	1	..	..	..	..
Elyria	1	..	..	..	2
Sheffield	2	2	1	1	..
Pittsfield	1	..	..	..	..
Brighten	1	..	..	..	..
Rochester	1	..	..	..	..
Wellington	6	..	..	..	..
Totals	13	2	1	1	2

MORROW COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Stone Mound.	Mound Group.
Gilead	2	..	..	..	1
North Bloomfield	..	2	1	..	..
Westfield	..	1	..	..	..
Peru	1	..	..	..	..
Lincoln	..	1	..	2	..
Bennington	..	1	..	..	..
Chester	5	..	..	..	1
South Bloomfield	1	..	..	..	..
Totals	9	5	1	2	2

HOLMES COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Stone Mound.	Village Site.
German	1—1′	..	..
Paint	1	..	..
Richland	1′	..	..
Killbuck	1	..	1
Monroe	1′	..	..
Knox	3′—2	1′	1
Washington	1′—1	..	..
Ripley	2′	..	..
Totals	15	1	2

WILLIAMS COUNTY.

Townships.	Mound Group.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Crescent.
Northwest	2	1	1	..	1
Florence	1	..	..	..	..
St. Joseph	2	1	1	..	..
Centre	..	1	..	..	..
Bridgewater	1	..	..	..	..
Pulaski	..	..	..	3	..
Springfield	..	1	..	1	..
Brady	..	1	..	..	..
Totals	6	5	2	4	1

TUSCARAWAS COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Mound Group.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Stone Mound.
Franklin	..	1	..	..	..	..
Wayne	1	1	..	..	..	..
Dover	1	..	..	..	..	..
Warwick	..	1	..	..	..	1
Goshen	2	..	..	..	..	..
Mill	2	..	..	..	..	..
Auburn	..	..	1	..	..	..
Oxford	3	..	..	1	1	..
Totals	9	3	1	1	1	1

DARKE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Circle.
Harrison	1	..	2	..
German	..	1	2	..
Washington	1	..	1	..
Greenville	2	..	..	1
Brown	..	..	1	..
Mississina	..	1	..	..
Wabash	..	..	1	..
Allen	1	1	..	..
Totals	5	3	7	1

GALLIA COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Square.
Addison	..	2	..
Green	1	1	..
Clay	1	..	..
Swan Creek	6	..	4
Totals	8	3	4

LUCAS COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Group Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Oregon	7	3	..	..	1
Adams	2	..	..	..	..
Springfield	..	..	1	..	..
Providence	..	..	..	1	..
Totals	9	3	1	1	1

BELMONT COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group of Stone Graves.
York	1	..	1
Meade	3	..	1
Pultney	2—1	1	..
Pease	2 .	1	2
Totals	9	2	4

HURON COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Enclosure.	Crescent.	Circle.
New Haven	1	..	..	..	..	..
Fairfield	1	1	..	..	..	..
Clarksfield	1	..	..	..	..	..
Hartland	..	..	1	..	..	..
Peru	..	1	..	..	..	..
Richfield	1	..	..	2	..	..
Norwalk	1	1	1	..	1	1
Totals	5	3	2	2	1	1

CRAWFORD COUNTY.

Townships.	Village Site.	Earth Mound.	Group of Stone Graves.
Chatfield	1	..	..
Holmes	..	2	1
Liberty	..	1	..
Bucyrus	..	5	..
Dallas	..	1	..
Whetstone	1	1	..
Totals	2	10	1

CUYAHOGA COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Enclosure.	Circle.
Brooklyn	1	1	..
Cleveland	1	..	..
Independence	1	..	..
Bedford	1	..	..
Solon	1	..	..
Orange	2—1′	..	1′
Willoughby	1	1	..
Totals	10	2	1

ASHTABULA COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Square.	Circle.	Group of Stone Graves.	Enclosure.
Conneaut	1	1	..	..	1	2
Ashtabula	..	1	..	..	1	..
Harpersfield	1	..	..	..	..	..
Morgan	..	1	..	..	..	..
Rome	1	..	..	..	..	..
Wayne	..	1	1	1	..	..
Totals	3	4	1	1	2	2

RICHLAND COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Mound Group.	Crescent.	Circle.
Worthington	1	..	..	..	..
Jefferson	1	..	1	..	..
Mifflin	1—1′	..	..	1	..
Madison	1	1	..	..	1
Springfield	2	..	..	..	..
Sandusky	1	..	..	..	..
Jackson	1	..	..	..	..
Totals	9	1	1	1	1

LAKE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Circle.	Enclosure.	Village Site.
Mentor	2	..	..	..
Willoughby	1	..	1	..
Painesville	3	..	..	..
Perry	..	..	2	1
Concord	..	1	..	..
Totals	6	1	3	1

OTTAWA COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Stone Mound.	Group Stone Graves.
Benton	1	..	..	..
Erie	1	..	..	..
Danbury	2	2	1	1
Bay	..	1	..	1
Totals	4	3	1	2

STARK COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Stone Mound.	Village Site.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Effigy.
Perry	1—1′	..	..	1	..
Sugar Creek	..	1	..	..	..
Bethlehem	2	..	..	..	..
Sandy	1	..	..	..	..
Lexington	....	..	1	..	..
Munishillen	1	..	..	..	1
Canton	...	..	..	..	
Totals	6	1	1	1	1

JEFFERSON COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group of Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Cross Creek	2	1	..	..
Wells	1	..	1	1
Warren	3	..	1	..
Totals	6	1	2	1

CHAMPAIGN COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Wayne	..	1
Johnson	1	1
Jackson	..	1
Mad River	1	..
Urbana	2	..
Union	1	1
Totals	5	4

MERCER COUNTY.

Townships.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Enclosure.	Square.	Circle.
Marion	1	..	..	..
Recovery	1	..	1	..
Jefferson	1	..	1	..
Union	..	..	..	1
Dublin	1	1	1	..
Totals	4	1	3	1

ISLANDS IN LAKE ERIE.

Islands.	Earth Mound.	Enclosure.	Village Site.	Group Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Kelley	4	1	..	..	..
St. George	..	..	1	1	1
Totals	4	1	1	1	1

TRUMBULL COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group of Stone Graves.
Farmington	1	..	..
Southington	1—1′	1	1
Braceville	2	..	1
Totals	5	1	2

PREBLE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Enclosure.	Group Stone Graves.	Village Site.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Twin	..	1	1	1	2
Lanier	..	1	..	..	..
Harrison	1	..	..	..	..
Jefferson	1	..	..	..	..
Totals	2	2	1	1	2

DEFIANCE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Noble	2	2	..
Adams	1	1	..
Tiffin	..	..	..
Hicksville	..	..	1
Milford	..	..	1
Totals	3	3	2

SANDUSKY COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Stone Grave Group.
Sandusky	..	1	1
Riley	..	..	2
York	1	1	..
Ballville	..	1	..
Totals	1	3	3

AUGLAIZE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Group of Stone Graves.
Logan	..	1	..	..	1
Duchouquet	..	1	..	..	1
Noble	..	..	2	..	..
St. Marys	..	..	1	..	..
Totals	..	2	3	..	2

ALLEN COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Group of Stone Graves.
German	1	..	..	..	..
Bath	..	1	..	..	..
Jackson	2	..	..	1	2
Totals	3	1	..	1	2

MEDINA COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Enclosure.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Group of Stone Graves.
Westfield	1	..	..	..
Spencer	1	..	..	..
Medina	1	1	..	..
York	1—1′	..	..	..
Totals	5	1	..	..

HANCOCK COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Enclosure.	Glacial Kame Burial.	Group of Stone Graves.
Pleasant	1	..	..	..
Blanchard	..	..	1	..
Delaware	.	.	1	.
Totals	1	.	2	..

NOBLE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Stone Mound.	Group of Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Center	3—1′	..	..	.	..	..
Olive	2	..	..	..	..	..
Noble	1	..	.	..	..	.
Totals	6	..	..	..	..	.

PORTAGE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Stone Mound.	Group of Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Hiram	....	1	..	1	..	..
Charleston	....	..	..	1′	..	..
Palmyra	....	1	.	1′	..	..
Franklin	....	1	..	..	..	..
Totals	..	3	..	3	..	..

HARRISON COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Stone Mound.	Group of Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Monroe	1—1′	..	..	..	..	..
Franklin	....	1	..	..	1′	..
Washington	....	1	..	1′	..	..
Totals	2	2	..	1	1	..

WOOD COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Enclosure.	Stone Mound.	Group of Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Weston	...	..	..	..	1	..
Perrysburg	....	..	1	..	1	..
Plain	....	2	..	..	..	..
Milton	....	..	..	..	..	1
Totals	....	2	1	..	2	1

PAULDING COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group of Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Auglaize	1	..	..	1
Washington	..	..	..	1
Totals	1	..	..	2

MONROE COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group of Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Salem	2	..	..	..
Switzerland	..	..	1	..
Totals	2	..	1	.

MAHONING COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group of Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Youngstown	1	1	..	..
Amsterdam	..	1	..	..
Totals	1	2	..	.

SENECA COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group of Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Eaton	..	1	..	..
Pleasant	..	1	..	..
Totals	..	2	..	..

HENRY COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group of Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Napoleon	..	.	.	2

GEAUGA COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group of Stone Graves.	Glacial Kame Burial.
Russell	1	..	..	..
Parkman	.	.	1	..
Totals	1	.	1	.

PUTNAM COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group of Stone Graves.	Effigy.
Blanchard	..	..	1	..

LOGAN COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group of Stone Graves.	Effigy.
Bokes Creek	1	..	.	..

SHELBY COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group of Stone Graves.	Effigy.
Van Buren	..	1	..	.

CARROLL COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group of Stone Graves.	Effigy.
Perry	..	1	.	.

COLUMBIANA COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group of Stone Graves.	Effigy.
Liverpool	.	.	.	1

VAN WERT COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group of Stone Graves.	Effigy.
Washington	1	..	.	..

GUERNSEY COUNTY.

Townships.	Earth Mound.	Village Site.	Group of Stone Graves.	Effigy.
Spencer	1	..	..	..

On the banks of the Ohio, in Kentucky and West Virginia, are forty-eight tumuli and works just opposite similar ones on the Ohio side. These are not included in the totals, although they are shown upon the borders of our map.

OHIO
Archaeological and Historical
PUBLICATIONS.

CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF GENERAL WAYNE'S TREATY OF GREENVILLE, AUG. 3, 1895.

PRAYER BY REV. JOHN POYNTZ TYLER.

O God, who art the blessed Potentate, the King of kings and the Lord of lords, the Almighty Ruler of nations, we adore and magnify Thy glorious name for all the great things which Thou hast done for us. We render Thee thanks for the goodly heritage which Thou hast given unto us, for the civil and religious privileges which we enjoy, and for the multiplied manifestations of Thy favor towards us. We thank Thee for this fair land which Thou hast given and preserved to us. Grant that we may show our thankfulness for these Thy mercies by living in reverence of Thy almighty power and dominion, in humble reliance on Thy goodness and mercy, and in whole obedience to Thy righteous laws. Preserve, we beseech Thee, to our country the blessings of peace; restore them to nations deprived of them, and secure them to all the places of the earth. May the kingdom of the Prince of Peace come and reign in the hearts and lives of men. We implore Thy blessing on all in legislative, judicial and executive authority, that they may have grace, wisdom and understanding so to discharge their duties as most effectually to promote Thy glory, the interest of true religion and virtue, and the peace, good order and welfare of this state and

nation. Continue, O Lord, to prosper our institutions for the promotion of sound learning, the diffusion of virtuous education, and the advancement of christian truth, and of the perpetuity and prosperity of Thy Church. Change, we beseech Thee, every evil heart of unbelief. Save us from the guilt of abasing the privileges of prosperity to luxury and licentiousness, lest we provoke Thy just judgment. O, Lord of our salvation, may we offer our souls and bodies a living sacrifice to Thee who hast preserved and redeemed us through Jesus Christ our Lord, on whose merits we alone humbly rely for the forgiveness of our sins and the acceptance of our service. Almighty God, whose kingdom is everlasting and power infinite, have mercy upon this whole land and so rule the hearts of Thy servants, the President of the United States, the Governor of this State, and all others in authority, that they may above all things seek Thy honor and glory, and that we, and all the people, duly considering whose authority they bear, may thankfully and obediently honor them in Thee and for Thee, according to Thy blessed Word and ordinance, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who with Thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, ever one God, world without end. And now may the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, be amongst us and remain with us forever, and may the blessing of God Almighty, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, be amongst us and remain with us always. Amen.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR McKINLEY.

DELIVERED AT GREENVILLE, OHIO, AUGUST 3, 1895.

(INTRODUCTION BY J. R. KNOX: — The people of Ohio like to see their Governor, the soldiers of the army like to see their old comrade, everybody wants to see McKinley, and I have the pleasure now, fellow citizens, of presenting to you Governor McKinley of Ohio, who will now address you.)

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Your president has said that the people of Ohio want to see the Governor of their state. I heartily reciprocate that feeling when I say that the Governor of Ohio wants to see the people of Ohio. It affords me special pleasure, to be present and rejoice with you here to-day. It is pleasant, not only to meet on this historic ground and occasion, but both a privilege and pleasure to have the opportunity to attest my respect and veneration for the brave men and noble women who were the pioneer settlers of Ohio and of the great Northwest. It is not too eulogistic for us to claim that no better or purer people ever laid the foundations of society and government at any other time or place in all the world's history. Certainly the record of the pioneers of Ohio from 1788 to 1803 is a broad heritage, a priceless legacy, for any commonwealth to enjoy. Seldom has a great community been established under circumstances more adverse, nor with greater cost in blood and suffering, privation and toil, than attended the erection of the state of Ohio in what was then a savage and unbroken wilderness from the river to the lake. It is fitting that we should rejoice that it is now so great and so prosperous and everywhere celebrated as perhaps the fairest and most beautiful land anywhere to be found in our majestic common country.

But not to us of the present day is the praise and gratitude due, but to the grand men of that historic age, which produced a Washington, a Wayne, a St. Clair, a Putnam, a Cutler, a

Symmes, a Worthington, a Tiffin and a Meigs, and the hosts of other illustrious patriots whose name and fame are indissolubly linked with the history of Ohio and their common country. No lack, my fellow-citizens, was in our primal stock, no weakling founders builded there. They were the men of Plymouth Rock, the Puritan, and the Cavalier. To them let us give the honor and tribute for the courage and sacrifice which made us all we are to-day.

The centennial anniversary we meet to celebrate is of far more than local or mere state interest. If we may judge events by their subsequent results, we can heartily agree with the historians that the signing of the treaty of peace at Greenville on August 3rd, 1795, was the most important event necessary to permanent settlement and occupation in the existence of the whole Northwest territory. Indeed, its good effects far outstretched even the boundaries of that great domain. The campaign which preceded it is justly said by Atwater in his clean history of Ohio to have subdued the whole Indian territory from Florida to the northern lakes. The power of the savages to stop the onward march of civilization was broken, and the soil of Ohio was practically free from Indian outbreaks and outrages, from which the struggling settlements had severely suffered for more than seven years. It is, my countrymen, at this remote period difficult to conceive the unprotected state of the frontiersmen a century ago. We too little appreciate their sacrifices. From the first settlement at Marietta until Wayne's great victory there was not a day and scarce an hour when the few white inhabitants over a wide region of the wilderness were not in constant danger of massacre by the Indians. They intercepted almost every boat that passed up the Ohio river. They picked off the few farmers who ventured to attempt to level the forests or cultivate the soil beyond the close proximity of the block house, and emboldened by their success, frequently attacked the garrisons themselves. They were constantly inspired to attack the Americans, not only by the Indians themselves and their principal chiefs, but by almost equally cruel and vindictive British and Canadian officers of Detroit, and at other lake posts still occupied by them. So numerous were these affrays and massacres and murders that it is as-

sumed by one writer that twenty thousand men, women and children were killed by the Indians before they finally abandoned the attempt to prevent the occupation of Ohio by the white people.

They had viewed the coming of the whites from the first with distrust, but it was not until 1790 that the lurking dangers had become so great, from the constant watchfulness and treacherous attacks of the Indians, that literally a reign of terror possessed all the settlements. In September, 1790, General Josiah Harmar, then chief lieutenant of the United States Army, made a raid into the Indian country, as the whole territory northwest of the Ohio was then properly called. This expedition was unsuccessful and also resulted in the annihilation of his command.

So terrible were the perils to which the people of the frontier were now exposed that they attracted the attention of the whole country, of Congress and the President. President Washington had in person witnessed all the horrors of savage warfare, and persuaded Congress in 1791 to authorize him to raise a regiment of regulars and two of volunteers for a campaign of six months against the Indians. The command of this army was intrusted to General Arthur St. Clair, the Governor of the Northwest territory, and late in October, 1791, he advanced with a large force upon the hostile savages whose principal villages were upon the Miami and Wabash rivers. The army had reached a point about twenty-three miles north of this city in its toilsome march through the wilderness, when it was surprised by a large body of Indians and routed with great loss and confusion. More than half the army was killed or captured. The engagement occurred November 4th, 1791, and the horde of victorious Indians was led by the noted chiefs Blue Jacket and Little Turtle, and Girty, the renegade. The shattered remains of St. Clair's army retreated to the walls of Fort Jefferson, or to within about fifty miles of the present city of Hamilton. Nearly half the settlers of the territory had entered upon this fatal campaign, and so terrible was the loss and panic attending the defeat that all the settlements of the Miami country, except those in the immediate vicinity of the forts, were almost entirely abandoned. Many of the retreating soldiers continued their flight into Kentucky, and it is said that the Indians were so emboldened by their great victory that

they even ventured by night into the streets of Cincinnati to spy out the exposure of the town and the best points from which to make an attack upon Fort Washington.

The situation of the frontier was critical in the extreme, but it was nearly a year before the national government took any decisive measures for the punishment of the Indians. Meanwhile, constant attacks were made upon them with varying success whenever opportunity presented. Negotiations for peace were attempted time and time again, but all failed. Negotiations for peace were again attempted by a commission appointed by the President, consisting of Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph and Timothy Pickering, but the hostile savages could not be brought to satisfactory terms. Further military operations and expeditions into the Indian country were attempted by Colonel Wilkinson and General Charles Scott, who rendered excellent services in the western frontier wars. These were not entirely without success, but they gave no permanent relief to the imperiled settlements. The people of the country were weary of the distress and bloody massacres of the Ohio Valley, and yet a few opposed further preparations for the prosecution of the war upon the Indians. Indeed, so disheartened was the country that it was even proposed by a few timid members of Congress to abandon the whole of the Northwest territory and make the Ohio river the northern bounds of the United States. What an inexcusable and criminal blunder this would have been. In these fears, however, President Washington fortunately did not share, and the national government gradually began gathering men and supplies for a new expedition into the Miami country. The reputation of the nation was at stake and a third defeat could not be contemplated or permitted.

On April 17th, 1792, General Anthony Wayne was appointed by Washington to command this expedition. He was then the Commander-in-chief of all the armies of the United States, and enjoyed not only great reputation as a soldier, but the confidence of the country as a brave and fearless and energetic man. In a hasty and necessarily very imperfect sketch like this his heroic services and fame in the Revolution can only be mentioned. One of his biographers happily describes him as

a "born soldier," and says that such was his aptitude and diligence that in six weeks after the fight at Lexington and Concord he had organized the volunteers of Chester county so perfectly that they had more the appearance of a veteran than of a militia regiment. With this command he accompanied General Sullivan in his ill-fated expedition to Canada in 1776, and, although wounded, effected the retreat that saved the American army both from capture and serious loss. At Brandywine he commanded a brigade, and at Germantown he led a division in the thickest fight, receiving two wounds and a horse killed under him. At Monmouth his conduct was marked with particular approval by Washington, while his capture of Stony Point in 1779 was one of the most brilliant exploits of the Revolution. At the commencement of the attack Wayne was struck on the head by a musket ball and sank to the ground. Instantly recovering himself, he arose on one knee and exclaimed, "March on! carry me into the fort, I will die at the head of this column." For this he received the thanks of, and a gold medal from, the Congress of the United States. His attack upon Fort Lee in 1780 was equally brave but not so fortunate; while in 1781 he rendered the most important service in quelling a revolt against the Pennsylvania troops to the great advantage of the country and the entire satisfaction of the discouraged troops. At Green Springs, Virginia, he was again wounded, but succeeded by his splendid tactics in frustrating Cornwallis and saving La Fayette's army. He was actively engaged in the investment and capture of Yorktown. Toward the close of revolutionary days he was again in active command, and was soon after sent to Georgia to re-establish the supremacy of the United States there. He completely defeated the British, the Tories, and the Indians, and compelled them to retire to and within the garrison at Savannah. For this great service the state of Georgia subsequently made him a large grant of land, upon which he went to live in 1789. He had the supreme satisfaction of receiving the capitulations of the British garrisons both at Savannah and Charleston; and was made Major-General in 1793, at a time when sickness compelled him to retire temporarily from the army, but not until after hostilities had entirely ceased.

In civil life he was a member of the council of the government of Pennsylvania, and was also elected to the convention which framed the constitution of that state. When he returned to Georgia he was elected to Congress in 1790, but his seat was contested and at last declared vacant. Disgusted with politics, he returned to the army with greater zeal and ardor than ever, determined at all hazards to achieve complete success.

Instead of proceeding precipitately into this disturbed territory, he spent nearly a year in collecting and drilling his men. Meanwhile the commissioners of the government exhausted every effort for peace. But all such efforts were unavailing. In September, 1793, General Wayne had so organized his army that by rapid marches he advanced up the valley of the Great Miami to Fort Jefferson and thence proceeded to establish a strongly fortified camp for the winter headquarters and called the place Greenville. From that point he advanced to the scene of St. Clair's defeat and here built another stockade, which he named Fort Recovery. He pushed on through the wilderness, during the following summer, driving the Indians before him to the junction of the Auglaize and Maumee rivers. Here he constructed in the very heart of the Indian country a very strong and scientifically arranged work which he styled, in intrepidity, Fort Defiance. The Indians had entirely failed to surprise him and did not dare to stand before his brave and well-disciplined troops. They vainly assailed Fort Recovery on June 30th, 1794, with great loss and slaughter. They realized they must at last fight one who, they were clear to see, deserved their own titles, "The Wind," "The Tornado," and "The Warrior who never sleeps." Having finished Fort Defiance, Wayne again pressed forward to what are called the Rapids of the Miami and here built Fort Wayne. His army consisted now of 2,000 regulars and 1100 riflemen under command of General Scott. On August 13th he sent a pacific message to the Indians, urging them to come into camp and enter a permanent and lasting peace with the United States. They did not come. Encouraged by assurances of assistance from the British, the Indians, contrary to the advice of their chieftain, declined all these overtures. General Wayne immediately prepared for battle and on August 20th attacked the savages almost

within the range of the guns of the British forts. The Indian forces amounted to fully 2,000 braves, the resistance was stubborn, but they were at length completely routed and driven more than two miles through the woods with great slaughter until within pistol shot of the British garrison. Their houses, corn, and personal effects were completely destroyed throughout the whole country, on both sides of the Miami, for a distance of fifty miles. General Wayne in his official report to the President said, "The horde of savages abandoned themselves to flight, dispersing with terror and shame, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field."

The army returned to Greenville, where it again went into winter quarters, and here the humble and subdued Indians soon began to arrive to ask for peace upon any terms which their recent conqueror might dictate. Early in January, 1795, measures were taken to assemble all the tribes of the Northwest to Greenville, and the following June the council began between General Wayne, acting for the United States, and some 1100 chiefs, representing the twelve principal tribes of the West. After six weeks deliberation the treaty was signed. The Indians relinquished practically all control of the soil of Ohio, with certain small and unimportant reservations along the Auglaize, St. Marys, Sandusky and Miami rivers.

Washington was quick to recognize the importance and excellence of Wayne's services, and cordially commended them in a public letter of thanks and in his following message to Congress. Wayne visited the city of Philadelphia late in 1795, and his entering into that city was like the conqueror triumphal. Business was suspended and he was conducted through the streets amidst the ringing of bells, the roaring of cannons, and the acclamations of the grateful people. Congress, then in session in that city, unanimously adopted resolutions highly commendatory of the General and the whole army. There could not have been a more gratifying or spontaneous outburst of public admiration than was shown to General Wayne after the signing of the Treaty of Greenville one hundred years ago. On every hand Wayne was greeted as a public benefactor and a hero and was given the most pleasant evidences of the high appreciation

by people and government of the important services he had rendered to his country.

Besides putting an end to a brutal and bloody war, waged without respect for age or sex throughout our western territory, his success had the effect of quieting Indian disturbances both north and south, of opening to the civilized population the fertile region which had been the theatre of the late hostilities, and eventually added much greater territory equally inviting to settlement and culture. A further and most useful effect was to allay the agitated feeling at home, for the disastrous defeat of Harmar and St. Clair had gone far to shake the confidence of the people in the executive branch of the federal government.

Abroad Wayne's services were equally beneficial to the United States, for they hastened the execution of the pending negotiations with Great Britain by which the American posts, so long and so stubbornly held by the British, were at last given up.

He was appointed sole commissioner to treat with the Northwestern Indians. He soon returned to the West, but his life of singular activity and usefulness was soon to come to a close. After a prompt and faithful discharge of his new duties, he died at or near the humble log cabin which was his home at Presque Isle, on the shores of the lake, now Erie, Pennsylvania, in December, 1796, at the comparatively young age of fifty-two. His last request was that of a soldier. He asked that his remains be buried under the flag staff of the old fort at Erie. Here they remained until 1809, when they were conveyed to Chester county and buried with all the honors of war by his late companions in arms, The Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati.

Wayne, my fellow citizens, was in every way a most remarkable soldier. To my mind he was more like the dashing Phil. Sheridan than any other great military chieftain in our history. He was called Mad Anthony, not on account of his imprudence, but because of his mad zeal for his country (and I wish we had more of it now), and for his wonderful bravery in every engagement. Grant said that Sheridan never needed but one command, and that was, "to go in," and he went in and always won. Washington had the same supreme confidence in Wayne and is said to have spoken sadly of his death in the full vigor of life, in the

noontide of glory, and in the midst of a most splendid usefulness. On the other hand, Wayne's confidence in Washington and his obedience to him were without limitation or bound. It was this trust and love that led the brusque old soldier once to say to Washington, when asked by him if he would accept the command of a most perilous expedition: "If your Excellency will plan it, I will undertake to storm hell itself." The language was emphatic but in no sense profane, nor the expression of a man who was deficient in respect for piety and religion. It was simply a natural outburst of admiration for his old General, for whom he would have cheerfully died at any time.

My fellow citizens, of such stuff true heroes are made, and leaders that seldom fail. It is said that on the morning of the battle of Fallen Timbers William Henry Harrison, of the staff of General Wayne, said to his commander, "General Wayne, I am afraid you will go into this battle and forget to give me the necessary field orders." "Perhaps I may," General Wayne replied, "but if I do, recollect the standing order of the day is to charge all the rascals with the bayonet."

As characteristic of this illustrious soldier, I want specially to call your attention to the correspondence which passed between him and the commander of the British post on the banks of the Maumee one hundred years ago. Wayne's letter has the genuine American ring. It is firm, fearless and aggressive. It is the language of a brave man engaged in a great and holy cause. It has the true American spirit, and I wish we had more of it now.

"Miami River, August 21st, 1794." (I read a letter now from the British commander to General Wayne. He says): "Sir: The army of the United States of America said to be under your command have taken post on the banks of the Miami for upwards of the last twenty-four hours, almost within the reach of the guns of this fort, which, being a post belonging to his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, occupied by his Majesty's troops, and which I have the honor to command, it becomes my duty to inform myself as speedily as possible in what light I am to view your making such near approach to this British garrison.

Signed, William Campbell, commanding a British post on the banks of the Miami."

To that letter old General Wayne replied: "I have received your letter of this day." (He didn't wait until the next day). "I have received your letter of this day requiring from me the motives which have moved the army under my command to the position they at present command. Without questioning the authority or the propriety, sir, of your interrogatory, I think I may without breach of decorum observe to you that, were you entitled to an answer, the most full and satisfactory one was announced to you from the muzzle of my gun yesterday. I have the honor to be, sir, yours with great respect, Anthony Wayne, Major-General, Commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States."

To me one of the greatest benefits of the Treaty of Greenville has always seemed that it opened wide the gateway of opportunity to the free and easy settlement of the great West. Other Indian wars and outbreaks there were, but none so formidable after that great treaty was signed. The immense flood of emigrants that poured into Ohio found happy and peaceful homes on the old hunting grounds and in the Indian villages of the Northwest, and from them has descended a sturdy people, whose pluck and enterprise and energy have never been surpassed anywhere in the United States.

Mr. President, Greenville may justly congratulate herself that she is the site where the treaty was signed, that her name and fame are forever linked with its history. Let us keep alive those precious memories of the past and instill into the minds of the young the lessons of the stirring patriotism and devotion to duty of the men who were the first to establish here the authority of the Republic and founded on eternal principles its free and noble institutions. The centuries may come, the centuries may go, but their fame will survive forever on this historic ground.

The day thrills with historic interest. It is filled with stirring memories, and recalls the struggles of the past for peace, and the majesty of constitutional government. It is most fitting to celebrate this anniversary. It marks an epoch in our civilization. One hundred years ago Indian hostilities were suppressed and the compact of peace concluded between the government

and the Indians, which made the great Northwest the undisputed territory of the United States, and what was once a dense wilderness inhabited by barbarous tribes is now the home of a happy and progressive people, and the center of as high an order of civilization as is to be found anywhere in the world.

It is a great thing to make history. The men who participated in the Indian wars won victories for civilization and mankind. And these victories all of us are enjoying to-day. Nothing, therefore, could be more appropriate than that this great section of the country, which a century ago was the theatre of war, should pause to celebrate the stirring events of those times and the peace which followed, and do honor to the brave men who participated in them.

It is a rich inheritance to any community to have in its keeping historic ground. As we grow older in statehood, interest in these historical events increases, and their frequent celebration is calculated to promote patriotism and a spirit of devoted loyalty to country. So many mighty events in our national history have transpired since the signing of this treaty of peace, that in the popular mind it does not possess that importance which it deserves. I am glad that you have planned this centennial celebration to commemorate the event and emphasize its importance and value. It is well to realize that it is one of the landmarks of civilization and that it beckoned the people on to greater and greater achievements which opened the way to progress, and its celebration to-day is alike profitable and inspiring to every true lover of country and its happy and peaceful homes.

We cannot have too many of these celebrations with their impressive lessons of patriotism and sacrifice. Let us teach our children to revere the past, for by its examples and lessons alone can we wisely prepare them for a better and nobler future. The city of Greenville, the people of Ohio, the people of the country, should see to it that at no distant day a great monument shall be erected to celebrate this great event.

THE TREATY OF GREENVILLE.

Address of Hon. Samuel F. Hunt, Delivered on the Occasion of the Centennial of the Treaty of Greenville, Aug. 3, 1895, at Greenville, O.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of Darke County, Fellow Citizens:

One hundred years have passed since that eventful day in August when the treaty of Greenville was signed. The different nations of Indians present and parties to the treaty consisted of one hundred and eight Wyandots, three hundred and eighty Delawares, one hundred and forty-three Shawanese, forty-five Ottawas, forty-six Chippewas, two hundred and forty Pottawattomies, seventy-three Miamies and Eel Rivers, twelve Weas and Piankishaws, and ten Kickapoos and Kaskaskias — making a total of eleven hundred and thirty chiefs and warriors.

The Indians active in the Council were Little Turtle, chief of the Miamies, Blue Jacket and Massas, chiefs of the Shawanese, Te-ta-bosksh-ke, king of the Delawares and Buck-on-ge-he-las and Pe-ke-te-le-mund, chiefs of the Delawares, Sun and New Corn and Asi-me-the, chiefs of the Pottawattomies, Mash-i-pinash-i-wish, or Bad Bird, chief of the Chippewas, Kick-a-poo and Kee-a-hah, chiefs of the Kickapoos, Little Brave, chief of the Weas, Tar-ke, or Crane, chief of the Wyandots, Black Hoof and Ah-goosh-a-way, chiefs of the Ottawas. Every chief and warrior who participated in that Council has passed to the land of the Great Spirit. General Wayne died on Lake Erie; and, doubtless, the dying hero saw in its turbulent waters, at times, something of his own unconquerable will, and, at others, that quiet which would come at last to his restless soul.

The influence of the Treaty still remains. It saved defenseless settlements from the tomahawk and scalping knife of the Indian, and opened up to immigration and settlement the limitless West. It is the testimony of history that the Confederate tribes kept the faith pledged at Greenville, and never violated the limits

established by the Treaty. The writer of the article on Ohio in the American Commonwealth says that it was a grand tribute to General Wayne that no chief or warrior who gave him the hand at Greenville ever after lifted the hatchet against the United States. There were malcontents on the Wabash and Lake Michigan who took sides with Tecumseh and the Prophet in the war of 1812, perhaps for good cause, but the tribes and their chiefs sat still. Tecumseh himself, with his brother, the prophet, resided at Greenville from 1805 to 1808, and the Shawanese, when moving from their reservation on the Auglaize in 1832, encamped on Tecumseh Point and remained a day or two to take a last farewell.

We have gathered to-day on this historic ground, and under the genial skies of this delightful summer afternoon, to commemorate the most important civic event — next to the adoption of the ordinance of 1787 — in the history of the Northwestern territory. It was the beginning of an era of prosperity, and the tide of immigration at once set in for new homes and new settlements. The future now lay in the direction of peace and the cultivation of the arts of peace. The pioneers began to come to the valleys of the Miamies, the Scioto and the Muskingum. The population of the Northwest at the close of the year following the Treaty of Greenville has been estimated at five thousand souls. The stillness of the forest was now broken by the sound of the woodman's axe.

EARLY NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE WITH THE INDIANS.

In October, 1792, a great Council of all the tribes of the Northwest was held at Au-Glaise — now the city of Defiance. It was the largest Indian Council of the time. The Confederated Tribes of the Northwestern territory were represented in the Council at the confluence of Au-Glaise and the Miami of the Lakes. Even the representatives of the Seven Nations of Canada were present. Corn Planter and forty-eight chiefs of the Six Nations of New York were present. "Besides these," said Corn Planter, "there were so many nations that we cannot tell the names of them. There were three men from the Gora Nation; it took them a whole season to come; and twenty-seven

nations from beyond Canada." The question of peace or war was earnestly discussed. The chiefs of the Shawanese insisted upon war, while Red Jacket, the chief of the Senecas, declared for peace.

It is interesting to follow the report of their mission made by the chiefs of the Six Nations to the Indian agent at Buffalo. The Indians had been informed that "the President of the United States thinks himself the greatest man on this island, but they wished it understood that they had this country long in peace before they saw a person with a white skin; and that when General Washington sent out an army into their country, with orders to proceed as far as the Miami towns and on to the Glaize, it fell into their hands." This referred to the defeat of General St. Clair on the site of Fort Recovery, then a part of Darke county, on November the 4th, 1791. If, however, the white man wished to hold a council — General Washington being the head man — they would treat with him at the Rapids of the Miami "at the time when the leaves are fully out."

The armistice, however, which the hostile Indians promised to observe "until the leaves were fully out," was not faithfully kept, for on the sixth of November following, the Kentucky Mounted Infantry, under Major Adair, was attacked by a body of Indians, in the neighborhood of St. Clair, a post recently established about twenty-five miles north of Fort Hamilton, and near the present site of the neighboring town of Eaton.

THE APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONERS TO TREAT WITH THE INDIANS.

The President of the United States, on the first of March, 1793, appointed Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph and Timothy Pickering as commissioners to attend the proposed meeting at the Rapids of the Miami (Maumee) "when the leaves were fully out." The place of conference was afterwards changed to Sandusky.

The commissioners received their instructions on the 26th of April of the same year, and on the 27th General Lincoln left Philadelphia for Niagara by way of New York. Pickering and Randolph left on the 30th by the route through Pennsylvania

which led up the valleys of the Schuylkill, Susquehanna, Lycoming and Coshocton across to Genessee. The commissioners on reaching Niagara, about May 17th, were invited at once by Lieutenant Governor Simcoe to take up their residence at his seat, Navy Hall, with which invitation they complied. The commissioners, on the 7th of June, addressed a communication to Governor Simcoe that reports had been spread among the Indians by which their prejudices had been excited. As an instance of such unfounded reports, the commissioners had noticed the declarations of a Mohawk, from Grand River, that Governor Simcoe advised the Indians to make peace, but not to give up their lands. The commissioners called the attention of the Governor to the fact that the sales and settlements of the lands over the Ohio, founded on the treaties of Forts McIntosh and Harmar would render it impossible to make that river the boundary.

The reply of Governor Simcoe was to the effect that ever since the conquest of Canada it had been the principle of the British Government to unite the American Indians so that all petty jealousies might be fully extinguished and the real wishes of the Confederated tribes find full expression. This was desired to the end that all the treaties made with them might have the most complete ratification and universal concurrence, but a suspicion of a contrary conduct on the part of the agents of the United States had been deeply impressed upon the minds of the Confederacy.

ASSURANCES AGAINST HOSTILE DEPREDATIONS BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE GOVERNORS OF PENNSYLVANIA AND VIRGINIA.

It was now the 26th of June and no news had been received from Sandusky. The commissioners themselves prepared to embark for the mouth of the Detroit river, but on July 15th, while still detained by head winds, Colonel Butler, the commander of the Tories at Wyoming, with Captain Brandt and some fifty warriors, arrived from the mouth of the Maumee, and two days afterwards, in the presence of the Governor, Brandt declared that the Indian nations who owned the lands north of

the Ohio river as their common property were all of one mind and one heart on that subject.

They wished to say that the warriors of the white men in their neighborhood prevented the meeting at the appointed place, and to know whether the commisioners had authority to run a new boundary line between the lands of the United States and the Indian nations?

The Indians were assured that there need be no apprehension of hostile incursions into the Indian country, north of the Ohio river, during the treaty of Sandusky. The Great Chief, General Washington, was so anxious to prevent anything which could obstruct the treaty and prolong the war that he had given orders of that character to the Head Warrior, General Wayne, and had informed the governors of the several states adjoining Ohio of the treaty to be held at Sandusky. They had been requested to unite with the Federal power to prevent any hostile attempts against the Indians north of the Ohio until the result of the conference should be made known. The governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia had accordingly issued their orders, and if, after all these precautions, any hostilities should be committed north of the Ohio, they must proceed from a few disorderly people, whom no considerations of justice or public good can restrain.

GENERAL WAYNE AT FORT WASHINGTON.

In April, 1792, General Wayne was appointed by President Washington Commander-in-chief of the army of the United States. The troops under General St. Clair had been almost annihilated in the famous defeat and were completely demoralized. Indeed the Secretary of War, at parting with General Wayne in May, 1792, expressly enjoined upon him "that another defeat would be inexpressibly ruinous to the reputation of the government."

General Wayne reached Fort Washington — now Cincinnati — in April 1793, and commenced at once the organization of the army, and to forward supplies to Fort Jefferson and to cut military roads through the Indian country. These movements of a military character awakened a distrust among the Indians

on the borders of the Maumee, and certainly were regarded by the commissioners as calculated to endanger the success of the negotiations. When negotiations for peace are conducted by the Indians the whole body of the nations assemble, and not a few counsellors. The negotiations must necessarily be delayed if the warriors are called to watch the movements of their enemies. The Mohawk chief referred to the movements of General Wayne.

"The Indians have information," write the commissioners to the Secretary of War under date of July 12, 1793, "confirmed by repeated scouts that General Washington has cut and cleared a road straight from Fort Washington into the Indian country, in a direction that would have missed Fort Jefferson, but that meeting with a large swamp, it was of necessity turned toward that Fort, and then continued six miles beyond it; that large quantities of provisions are accumulated at the forts, far exceeding the wants of the garrison, and that numerous herds of horses are assembled beyond Fort Jefferson, guarded by considerable bodies of troops. With these preparations for war in their neighborhood, for it is but three days' journey from thence to the Glaize, they say their minds cannot rest easy. The distance here mentioned is from Captain Brandt's information, and is, no doubt, exact. We suppose that from twenty to twenty-five miles may be deemed a day's journey."

The declaration of Corn Planter made to General Wayne in his tent at Legionsville, on his way from Pittsburg to Fort Washington, in 1793, that the Ohio river must be the boundary between the Indians and the white people, impressed that officer that any attempt at pacification by treaty were useless. The Secretary of War advised him that the sentiment of the citizens of the United States was adverse to an Indian war, and that a Commission had been named to treat with the Indians in the hope of securing peace. No effort was spared in the meantime to secure the efficiency of the army, and Wayne even sent to Kentucky for mounted volunteers. Subsequent events vindicated the soundness of his judgment as well as his knowledge of the people of the frontier whom he was to defend, and of the foe whom he was commissioned to subdue.

THE TREATY OF FORT STANWIX, FORT MCINTOSH AND FORT HARMAR.

The commissioners left Fort Erie on the 14th of July and on the 21st of July arrived at the mouth of the Detroit river. The British authorities prevented any further advance, and they took up their quarters at the house of Matthew Elliott, the famous renegade, then a subordinate agent in the British Indian Department. Colonel McKee, the Indian agent, was in attendance at the Council, and the commissioners addressed him a note, borne by Elliott, to inform the Indians of their arrival and ask when they could be received. Elliott returned on the 29th of July, bringing with him a deputation of twenty chiefs from the Council. On the following day Sa-waghda-munk, chief of the Wyandots, submitted the action of the General Council at the foot of the Miami Rapids on the 27th of July, 1793, in behalf of the whole Confederacy, and signed by the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Miamies, Mingoes, Pottawattamies, Ottawas, Connoys, Chippewas and Munsees, Seven Nations of Canada, Senecas of the Glaize, Nanticohees, Mohicans, Creeks and Cherokees.

The Council declared that the boundary line run by the white people at Fort Stanwix was the Ohio river, and if the white men desired a firm and lasting peace they must immediately remove all their people from this side of the river.

The Indians were reminded that while at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, *twenty-five years before*, the river Ohio was agreed on as the boundary line between them and the white people of the British colonies, that seven years after that boundary was fixed a quarrel broke out between their father, the King of Great Britain, and the people of the Colonies, who are now the people of the United States. The quarrel was ended by the treaty of peace made by the king, about ten years ago, by which the Great Lakes, and the waters which unite them, were by him declared to be the boundaries of the United States.

The attention of the Indians was called to the fact that peace having thus been made between the king of Great Britain and the United States, it remained to make peace between them and

the Indian nations who had taken part with the king; for this purpose commissioners were appointed, who sent messengers to all those Indian nations, *inviting them to come and make peace.* The first treaty had been held about nine years before, at Fort Stanwix, with the Six Nations, which had stood firm and unviolated. The next treaty was made about ninety days after, at Fort McIntosh, with the Half-King of the Wyandots, Captain Pipe, and other chiefs, in behalf of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa and Chippewa nations. Treaties were made afterward with divers Indian nations south of the Ohio river; and the next treaty was made with Ka-ki-pila-thy, then present, and other Shawanese chiefs, in behalf of the Shawanese nations, at the mouth of the Great Miami, which runs into the Ohio river.

The Great Council of the United States — referring to Congress — had disposed of large tracts of land thereby ceded, and a great number of people had removed from other parts of the United States and settled upon them. Many families of their ancient fathers, the French, came over the waters and settled upon a part of the same lands. This had reference to the French settlement at Gallipolis.

When it appeared that a number of the Indians were dissatisfied with the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Miami, the Great Council of the United States had appointed Governor St. Clair Commissioner, with full powers, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy, regulating trade and settling boundaries between the Indian nations in the northern departments and the United States. Governor St. Clair sent messengers to all the nations concerned to meet him at a Council fire which he kindled at the falls of the Muskingum. The fire was put out and so another Council fire was kindled at Fort Harmar, when near six hundred Indians of different nations attended. The treaty of Fort Stanwix was then renewed and confirmed by the Six Nations, and the treaty of Fort McIntosh was renewed and confirmed by the Wyandots and Delawares. Some Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies and Sacs were also parties to this treaty at Fort Harmar.

It was explicitly declared that it would be impossible to make the river Ohio the boundary line between their people and

the United States. The United States only wished to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of Fort Harmar, and also a small tract of land at the Rapids of Ohio, claimed by General Clark for the use of himself and warriors. The United States offered to give, in consideration of the same, such a large sum in money or goods as was never given at one time for any quantity of Indian lands since the white people first set their foot on this Island.

THE DECREES OF THE INDIAN COUNCIL OF AUG. 13TH, 1793.

The commissioners of the United States had formerly set up a claim to their whole country, southward of the Great Lakes, as the property of the United States. It was now conceded that the right of soil of all this country from the Great Lakes southward was in the Indian Nations so long as they desired to occupy the same. The only claim now made was that to the particular tracts and the general right of prëemption, or the right of purchasing of the Indian Nations disposed to sell their lands — to the exclusion of white people whatever.

The Indians denied that the treaties of Fort Stanwix, Beaver Creek (Fort McIntosh) and other places were not complete, and insisted that the Ohio river had been fixed as the boundary by Sir William Johnson, and that they would not give up the land. It was agreed between those deputed by the confederated Indians and Governor St. Clair that no bargains or sale of any part of these Indian lands would be considered as valid or binding unless ratified by a general council of the confederacy, and yet the treaty for the cession of an immense country was held with a few chiefs of two or three nations, who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or concession whatever. It is now expected that since their independence is acknowledged they should, in return for the favor surrender to their country.

The Indians, with surpassing eloquence, resisted the contention that they had ever made any agreement with the king, or with any other nation, to give to either the exclusive right of purchasing their lands, and declared that they were free to make any bargain or cession of lands whenever and to whomsoever they pleased. If the white people made a treaty that none of them

but the king should purchase the land of the Indians, and had given the right to the United States, it is an affair that concerns the king and the United States. The power yet remains to be exercised by the Indians. They would retreat no further, and had resolved to leave their bones in the small space to which they were confined. Justice alone would be done by permitting the boundary line of the Ohio river to remain between the Indians and the whites, and without such consent no conference would be held.

THE OHIO RIVER CANNOT BE THE BOUNDARY.

The commissioners who were still at Captain Elliott's, at the mouth of the Detroit river, sent the word to the chiefs and warriors of the Indian nations assembled at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, on the 16th day of August, 1793, that since it was impossible to make the river Ohio the boundary between the lands of the Indians and the lands of the United States the negotiations were at an end. It was a matter of much regret that peace could not be obtained, but knowing the upright and liberal views of the United States, which had been explained so far as an opportunity had been given, impartial judges would not attribute the war to them.

A REVIEW OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

All negotiations with the Indian tribes of the Northwest to secure a permanent and lasting peace were now terminated. There was nothing left but the arbitrament of battle. The confederate tribes would not lay down their arms except on the one condition that the Ohio river should forever be the boundary line between their people and the United States. No thoughtful student can read the proceedings and declarations of these great councils of the Confederated tribes without being profoundly moved by the high patriotism and lofty devotion of these statesmen of the wilderness. The Confederacy which the great Pontiac had formed thirty years before to protect his race had perished under an advancing civilization, and they now determined to stake their all for the hunting grounds of their fathers and for the inheritance of their children. The wiser policy would

have been to have accepted the liberal terms offered by the Federal Government, and to have made concessions which prudence dictated from the very circumstances of the respective treaties. The river Ohio could no more be fixed as the boundary line between the Indian tribes and the United States in August, 1793, than the Ohio river could be fixed as the boundary line between the two sections of this Union in April, 1861. The hand on the dial plate of progress could not go backward.

The Indians were doubtless emboldened by the defeats of Harmar and Arthur St. Clair, and could have no adequate idea of the power and resources of the Federal Government. It is in evidence, too, that they had hope of British as well as Spanish aid in this struggle with the whites. This will be found in the declarations of the Indians themselves, and in the recorded speeches and messages of the British and Spanish emissaries. Stone, in his life of Brandt, quotes that warrior as saying that they were engaged in forming a confederacy, and these endeavors enabled them to defeat the American armies. The purpose of the conference at the Miami (Maumee) river in the summer of 1793 was, to first act as mediator in bringing about an honorable peace, and in the event of failure to join the western brethren in the fortunes of war. The entering upon a treaty with the commissioners of the United States was opposed by those acting under the British Government, and hopes of further assistance were given to encourage them to insist on the Ohio river as the boundary line between them and the United States. (Stone II, 358.) This confidence in British aid was excited among the Indians before the final refusal of the generous terms offered by General Washington, and they realized the helplessness of such aid when they were refused refuge under the guns at Fort Miami, and found the gates of the fort itself closed against their dusky warriors in their retreat from the fatal field of the Fallen Timbers.

GENERAL WAYNE AT FORT GREENVILLE.

The position to which General Wayne was now called required military and diplomatic skill of the highest order. It seemed that the government was about to be engaged in an inter-

minable war, while hostilities with Great Britain appeared inevitable because of the refusal of the British to comply with the treaty of 1783, and especially that part which provided for the evacuation of the forts northwest of the Ohio. There was no other course but to advance into the Indian country and bring them into submission by the strong arm of military power. In September, 1793, the Secretary of War wrote to General Wayne: "Every offer had been made to obtain peace by milder terms than the sword. Every effort had failed, under circumstances which leave nothing for us to expect but war."

The army of General Wayne, some twenty-five hundred strong, began its forward movement in the wilderness on October the 7th, 1793. The army marched to Fort Hamilton on the first day, and finally encamped October 13th, at a post six miles in advance of Fort Jefferson, which was named Fort Greenville, in honor of Nathaniel Greene, with whom he served in the army of the revolution. General Wayne passed the winter of 1793-94 at Fort Greenville, and months elapsed without any communication with the government at Philadelphia. He was left to his own resources. Convoys of provisions for the camp were frequently intercepted and their escort murdered by the Indians. In December, 1793, General Wayne sent forward a detachment to the spot of St. Clair's defeat. The command arrived on the ground on Christmas day and pitched their tents on the battlefield. After the melancholy duty of burying the bones of the dead had been performed a fortification was built called Fort Recovery, in commemoration of the recovery of the ground from the Indians, who had held possession since the defeat in 1791. It was the fortune of the speaker to deliver the centennial oration over the bones of the gallant dead, which had been exhumed for a final resting place in a cemetery provided for the purpose.

While the army of General Wayne was encamped at Fort Greenville a severe and bloody engagement took place on the 30th of June, 1794, under the very walls of Fort Recovery. The assaulting party was repulsed with a heavy loss, and was finally driven away on the next day. It appears from the official report of Major Mills, Adjutant-General of the army, that twenty-two

officers and non-commissioned officers were killed in that action, including Major McMahon himself.

THE CAMPAIGN OF THE "FALLEN TIMBERS."

General Wayne, having been reinforced on July 26th, 1794, by sixteen hundred mounted men from Kentucky, under the command of Major-General Scott, with whom he had served at the battle of Monmouth, left the encampment at Greenville on July 28th, 1794, and advanced seventy miles northward into the very heart of the Indian country. He wrote to the Secretary of War on August 14th, 1794, that he had constructed a fort which was named Fort Adams, and was completing a strong stockade fort with four good blockhouses, by way of bastions, at the confluence of the Auglaize and the Miami, which was called Fort Defiance. He thought it proper to offer the Indians a last overture of peace, but said: "Should war be their choice, that blood be upon their own heads. America should no longer be insulted with impunity." He committed himself and his gallant army to an all-powerful and just God. "The Indians were driven with a great loss on the morning of August 20th, 1794, under the guns of Fort Miami — then occupied by Major Campbell and a garrison of British soldiers. The victory was complete, and the military power of the Indian tribes of the Northwest was broken forever. General Wayne remained below the Rapids with his army for three days. The object of the campaign against the Indians of the Northwest having been fully accomplished by the decisive battle of the Fallen Timbers on August 20th, 1794, the army of General Wayne returned to Fort Defiance, laying waste the villages and corn fields of the Indians for many miles. The Indians, defeated and utterly disheartened, retired to the borders of the Maumee Bay. General Wayne, on the 14th of September, marched toward the Miami villages, and just below the confluence of the St. Mary's and the St. Joseph rivers built a strong fortification, which, on October the 22d, 1795, was occupied by Colonel Hamtranck. After a salute of fifteen guns, it was named Fort Wayne — the site of the present prosperous city of that name. The army began the march from Fort Wayne on October the 25th, 1794, and on the evening of

November the 2d, 1794, reached Fort Greenville, where it was saluted with thirty-five guns from a six-pounder. The army had marched from Fort Greenville for the campaign of the Northwest on July 28th, 1794, and now returned to winter quarters" after an arduous and fatiguing expedition of ninety-seven days. It had marched and counter-marched during that time upwards of three hundred miles through the enemy's country, cutting a wagon road the entire distance, besides constructing three fortifications — Fort Adams, at the St. Mary's, Fort Defiance, at the Auglaize, and Fort Wayne, at the Miami villages. The Indians of the Northwest had not only been completely subdued but a lasting peace had been accomplished. The arms of the United States, too, had been vindicated from the shame of defeat and disaster.

THE INDIANS DISHEARTENED.

It was reported to General Wayne that the chiefs and nations were much divided as to peace or war. The Shawanese, the Tawas, and Indians near Detroit, were for war; the Wyandots, of Sandusky, were for peace; the Delawares and Miamies were about equally divided; while the Pottawattamies and the Chippewas were greatly disheartened over the battle. It soon became evident that the Indians desired peace. Intelligence came from the West that the Indians were crossing the Mississippi. A new treaty had been made with the Iroquois on the 11th of November; while but few Indians were seen lurking in the neighborhood of Fort Wayne and Fort Defiance. They were impressed with the force of General Wayne after the engagement at the Fallen Timbers. The Pottawattamies called him "The Wind," because, as they said, "he was exactly like the hurricane which drives and tears everything before it." He was known as "The Blacksnake" among the other tribes.

OVERTURES FOR PEACE.

While the army was in winter quarters at Fort Greenville, General Wayne was constantly receiving communications from the chiefs of the tribes — some being of a friendly and others of a hostile character. As early as the 28th and 29th of December, 1794, the chiefs of the Chippewas, Ottawas, Sacs, Pottawat-

tamies and Miamies, came with messages of peace to Fort Wayne; while on January 24th following, these tribes, together with the Delawares, Wyandots and Shawanese entered into a preliminary article with General Wayne at Greenville, looking to a permanent and lasting peace. Tar-ke, or Crane, chief Sachem of the Wyandots, entreated the Americans to listen to the chiefs and warriors of his tribe, and referred to the Council and treaty made with General St. Clair at Muskingum in 1789. The Wyandots wrote that they wished for peace, and had determined to bury the hatchet and scalping knife deep in the ground.

General Wayne at once responded to these appeals, and sent word to Tar-ke, or Crane, and to all the chiefs and warriors of the Wyandots, and to all other tribes and nations of the Indians in the Northwest, that they should no longer suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the bad advice of unscrupulous men who had often betrayed them by fair and plausible, but false promises of assistance in fighting the fifteen fires of the United States. He said to them, that it was nearly six years since the Sachems and warriors of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies and Sacs concluded a treaty at the mouth of the Muskingum with General St. Clair for removing all causes of controversy, and for determining the questions of boundary between the Indian tribes and the United States. He contended that that treaty was founded upon the principles of equity and justice, and proposed it as a basis upon which a lasting and permanent peace could be established. They were all invited to come to Fort Greenville, and were assured of a cordial welcome and a safe conduct for all the chiefs and warriors who might attend. An ardent desire was expressed that the Great Spirit would incline their hearts and words to peace, and that they soon might all meet in council.

THE POLICY OF GENERAL WAYNE.

It was the policy of General Wayne to create a division of opinion and thus prevent unity of action among the tribes, at least until his garrison could be strengthened. It was said that many of the Indians, true to the instincts of pride and ambition, had determined to remove their families far beyond the Missis-

sippi, rather than submit to the humiliation of suing for peace from the white man. Rumor had already reached General Wayne that more than one hundred of the warriors of the Shawanese were then hunting on the head-waters of the Miamies of the Ohio, and of the Scioto, who intended to steal as many horses as would be necessary to carry them and their families to the Mississippi, where several of their nation and many of the Delawares had already settled, rather than make peace

BEGINNING OF THE TREATY.

In the beginning of June, 1795, the Indians began to collect at Greenville, apparently without any concert of action, and gave notice as they arrived that they had come to negotiate a peace. On the 16th of June, 1795, a number of the Delawares, Ottawas, Pottawattamies, and Eel River Indians having arrived, General Wayne caused them to be assembled on that day, and for the first time met them in general council. After they had received and smoked the calumet of peace, he said that he took them by the hands as brothers assembled for peace; that he had that day kindled the council fire of the United States, and then delivered to each tribe a string of white wampum as an evidence of the friendship thus commenced.

General Wayne said: "The Heavens are high, the woods are open, we will rest in peace. In the meantime we will have a little refreshment to wash the dust from our throats. We will, on this happy occasion be merry, but without passing the bounds of temperance and sobriety. We will now cover up the council fire and keep it alive till the remainder of the different tribes assemble and form a full meeting and representation."

ARRIVAL OF NEW CORN AND BUCK-ON-GE-HE-LAS.

The next day New Corn, one of the old chiefs of the Pottawattamies, with several warriors arrived. He said that they had come from Lake Michigan, and that after the treaty was over they would exchange their old medals for those of General Washington. They wanted peace.

Buck-on-ge-he-las, with a party of Delawares came soon afterward, and also As-i--me-the, with a party of Pottawattamies.

They were received at the Council House. The Delaware king told Wayne that his forefathers used soft cloth to dry up their tears, but that they used wampum, and hoped by its influence to do away with all past misfortunes. The Pottawattamie chief said that they were all there — the remainder were dead — and as a proof of their good wishes they had brought with them two prisoners — all in their possession.

General Wayne welcomed them to Greenville; told them that the great council fire had been kindled and the pipe of peace had been smoked. When the Wyandots from Sandusky and Detroit, and the tribes in that quarter would arrive, fresh wood would be added to the fire, and business would be postponed until then. In the meantime, he would give them something which would make their hearts glad, and also distributed some wampum.

LITTLE TURTLE, CHIEF OF THE MIAMIES

The celebrated Little Turtle, chief of the Miamies, came on the 23rd of June. Little Turtle was the noblest Roman of them all. He commanded at the defeat of Harmar and St. Clair. He, like Pontiac, thirty years before him, was the soul of fire, and every one who reads of the treaty of Greenville will be impressed with his high courage and the manly stand which he took for his race and the hunting grounds of his fathers. It has been said that the sun of Indian glory set with him, and when Little Turtle and Tecumseh passed away the clouds and shadows which for two hundred years had gathered around their race closed in the starless night of death.

QUARTERS AND PROVISIONS FOR THE INDIANS.

The Indian chiefs and warriors who had gathered at Fort Greenville were all present on the 25th of June, when General Wayne addressed them as to the arrangements he had made for their comfort during the council. The exterior redoubts were given up to accomodate the different nations with council houses. He desired them to retire to their quarters like his own men at the firing of the evening gun. If any of his foolish young men were found troubling their quarters he wished the Indians to tie

them and send them to him, to be dealt with according to circumstances of the case.

It seems that there had been an accident the day before, in the explosion of some fireworks prepared for the 4th of July, and that the soldiers immediately rushed to their posts, to the astonishment of the Indians, who feared an attack. The General assured them, that this was the order of the camp. They were present at his invitation and were not more secure in their own villages. He humored the Indians by telling them that General Washington and his great council had sent them large presents which he soon expected; — their friends, the Quakers, had also sent them messages and some small presents. Bad Bird, a Chippewa chief, thought that was all very right and very good.

Little Turtle made a short speech on the 30th of June to the Chippewas, and said that when brothers meet they always experienced pleasure; and as it was a little cool, he hoped they would get some drink; and that they expected to be treated as warriors. He wanted some fire-water, and would like to have some mutton and pork occasionally. New Corn was most happy to be in accord with the sentiments of Little Turtle; but their hearts were sorry, and it grieved them to have seen the graves of their brothers who fell there last winter.

The Sun, chief of the Pottawattamies, complained of the allowance of food. They ate in the morning and became hungry at night. The days were long and they had nothing to do. They became weary and wished for home.

GENERAL WAYNE AS A DIPLOMAT.

General Wayne was the real diplomat. He was prudent in council as well as brave in war. Warriors from all the Indian tribes of the Northwest had gathered in council, and while those were present who had defied and even defeated the whole armed power of the United States, yet they were as little children. He explained that they had no pork, and but few sheep, which were intended for the use of the sick, and occasionally for the officers. He promised that the sick should share with his own sick in the comforts of the camp, and that he would divide with the officers.

The graves of which New Corn spoke could not be remedied and grief was unmanly. He gave each of the chiefs a sheep for their own use, and some drink for themselves and their people, to make their hearts glad and to dry up their tears; and then suggested, by way of parenthesis, that they all take a glass together.

General Wayne having now waited as long as was deemed expedient called the council together July 15th, 1795, and uncovered the council fire, and had the interpreter sworn. He presented the Calumet of Peace of the fifteen fires (fifteen states) of the United States of America. He showed the Indians present the commission he held from General Washington and the Council of the fifteen fires, appointing him Commander-in-chief of the American Legion, and then the commission which he had received from the same authority on the 4th day of April, 1794, for settling a peace with all the Indians northwest of the Ohio.

He impressed the chiefs and warriors assembled with the great importance of the interests at stake, and that they were now called upon to determine questions which involved the happiness of the United States and the Indian nations. He invoked the blessing of the Great Spirit upon their deliberations.

THE MUSKINGUM TREATY.

General Wayne then referred to the treaty which had been concluded by Governor St. Clair at Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum, which had removed all controversy for the time, and had clearly defined the boundaries between them and the United States. He urged them to think coolly of these matters, and having raked up the council fire, invited them all to have some drink.

Little Turtle several days afterward replied with much warmth to General Wayne: "We have heard," said he, "and considered what you have said to us. You have shown, and we have seen, your powers to treat with us. I came here for the purpose of hearing you. I suppose it to be your wish that peace shall take place throughout the world. When we hear you say so we will be prepared to answer you. You have told me that the present treaty should be founded upon that of Muskingum. I

beg leave to observe to you that that treaty was effected altogether by the Six Nations, who seduced some of our young men to attend it, together with a few of the Chippewas, Wyandots, Ottawas, Delawares and Pottawattamies. I beg leave to tell you that I am entirely ignorant of what was done at that treaty. I hope those who held it may give you their opinion whether or not is was agreeable to them."

Massas, a celebrated Chippewa chief, arrived on the 18th with Blue Jacket of the Shawanese and participated in the Council. The speech of Massas is interesting in that it gives an account of the celebrated Muskingum Treaty from the Indian standpoint. He was at the Treaty of Muskingum and held a copy in his hand. He admitted that the treaty had not been faithfully followed, but said in extenuation that the waters in their woods were not deep, and that some foolish young men with long arms had reached into the bottom and taken their tomahawks.

Little Turtle demanded to know what lands had been ceded by the Treaty of Muskingum. "I expect," said he, "that the lands on the Wabash and in this country belong to me and my people. I now take the opportunity to inform my brethren of the United States and others present that there are men of sense and understanding among my people as well as among theirs, and that these lands were disposed of without our knowledge and consent. . . . . You have pointed out, he continued, the boundary line between the Indians and the United States; but I now take the liberty to inform you that that line cuts off from the Indians a large portion of country which has been enjoyed by my forefathers from time immemorial without molestation or dispute. The prints of my ancestor's houses are everywhere to be seen in this portion. I was a little astonished at hearing you and my brethren who are present telling each other what business you had transacted together at Muskingum concerning this country. It is well known by all my brothers present that my forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the head-waters of the Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the

Wabash, and from thence to Lake Michigan. At this place I first saw my elder brothers, the Shawanese. I have now informed you of the boundaries of the Miami Nation, where the Great Spirit placed my forefather a long time ago, and charged him not to sell or part with his lands, but to preserve them for his posterity. This charge has been handed down to me. I was much surprised that my brothers differed so much from me on this subject; for their conduct would lead me to suppose that the Great Spirit and their forefathers had not given them the same charge that was given to me, but, on the contrary, had directed them to sell their lands to any who wore a hat as soon as he should ask it of them."

THE BOUNDARY LINES.

On the 17th day day of July, 1795, General Wayne fixed the general boundary line that should divide the United States, or the fifteen great fires of America, from the lands belonging to the Indian nations. He explained to them the several articles of a treaty upon which a permanent peace could be established between the United States and the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio. The third article, which should define the boundary reads that "The general boundary line between the lands of the United States and the lands of the said Indian tribes shall begin at the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, and run thence up the same to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence down that branch to the crossing place near Fort Laurens; thence westwardly to a fork of that branch of the great Miami river running into the Ohio river, at or near which stood Loramie's Store, and where commenced the portage between the Miami of the Ohio and St. Mary's river, which is a branch of the Miami which runs into Lake Erie; thence a westerly course to Fort Recovery, which stands on the bank of the Wabash; thence southerly in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of the Kentucky or Cuttawa river."

There were certain reservations granted to the Indians in this treaty. The treaty provided for a lasting peace, and stipulated that all the prisoners then held should be restored. Little

Turtle insisted that the line should run from Fort Recovery to Fort Hamilton, on the Great Miami, and assured the whites of the free navigation of that river from thence to its mouth forever.

THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY.

The treaty was signed by the various nations, and dated August the 3d, 1795. It was laid before the Senate December 9th, 1795, and was ratified December 22d, 1795. This closed the old Indian wars of the West.

General Wayne in declaring the Council at an end, said: "I now fervently pray to the Great Spirit that the peace now established may be permanent; and that it may hold us together in the bonds of friendship until time shall be no more. I also pray that the Great Spirit above may enlighten your minds and open your eyes to your true happiness, that your children may learn to cultivate the earth and enjoy the fruits of peace and industry."

By the treaty the Indians ceded about 25,000 square miles of territory to the United States, besides sixteen separate tracts including lands and forts. The Indians received in consideration of these cessions goods of the value of twenty thousand dollars as presents, and were promised an annual allowance of ninety-five hundred dollars to be equally distributed to the parties to the treaty.

A second treaty was concluded at Greenville, July 22, 1814, with the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Senecas and Miamies, by General William Henry Harrison and Governor Lewis Cass, commissioners on the part of the United States, by which the tribes engaged to aid the United States in the war with Great Britain and her savage allies.

EARLY RESULTS OF THE TREATY.

General Wayne sent a proclamation to the Cherokees, then settled on the head-waters of the Scioto, of the treaty, and invited them to come forward and enter into similar articles of peace. Most of them promised to hunt peaceably on the Scioto until their corn was ripe, and then they would quit this side of the Ohio forever and return to their own country.

Burnet in his Notes, speaks of a party of Shawanese warriors, some sixty or seventy in number, who had been hostile, bringing four prisoners to Greenville, three of whom they had captured on the 13th of July, 1795, in Randolph county, Virginia. Puck-se-saw, or Jumper, one of their chiefs, said that as soon as he received the belt which General Wayne had sent by Blue Jacket, he concluded to surrender the prisoners and promised to do no more mischief.

A MAJESTIC MONUMENT.

The blessings of liberty, law and order crown the century which has passed since the signing of the Treaty of Greenville. The harvests are peacefully gathered to their garners, the valleys rustle with standing corn and the songs of our homes are uninvaded by the cries and terrors of battle. The soil itself was dedicated to human freedom, and has never been cursed by the unrequited toil of the bondman. The institutions and laws of five great Republics are founded on the imperishable principles of the Ordinance of 1787. It established a code of law for an imperial territory. That great instrument enjoined the utmost good faith toward the Indians in their liberty, their lands and their property, and in the enactment of laws founded on justice and humanity. The treaty of Greenville, following the spirit of its imperishable principles, extended the hand of friendship toward the Indian, respected his liberty, paid full compensation for his lands and protected his property. It established a code of morals for a free people. When some future Bancroft shall write the history of this people he will speak of the great Ordinance as the first attempt to establish civic government in the Northwestern States, and then of the Treaty here proclaimed, which supplants the harsher tones of military strife with the softer syllables of charity and love. If, too, the victories of peace are not less renonwned than those of war, then the day will surely come when a grateful people, revering their traditions, and conscious of the maxims imperial of their glory, will erect on this historic ground a majestic monument, having an outstretched hand rather than a fixed bayonet, and with the simple yet immortal inscription, "The Treaty of Greenville."

ADDRESS OF HON. W. J. GILMORE.

DELIVERED AT GREENVILLE, OHIO, AUGUST 3, 1895.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I acknowledge the kindness of your committee in giving me, by their invitation, an opportunity to address you on this occasion. In coming back to Greenville after an absence of years, there remain, on this side of the great river that separates this from a future state of existence, but a few of those warm friends who welcomed me when I first came to Greenville, forty-six years ago, as a lawyer "following the circuit," after the manner in vogue with the early lawyers of the state, and not abandoned entirely at the time above spoken of by the lawyers of western Ohio. My connection with the Greenville courts, either as lawyer or judge, continued for more than twenty-five years.

On my return at present, I meet but one of the numerous members of the Greenville bar, who were in active practice when I came to your old court house in a professional way. That member is John R. Knox, between whom and myself the closest relations of professional and personal friendship and confidence have existed for all these years, and it is too late now to reasonably apprehend a jar between us in the future. However, my friend seems to be as youthful and active as myself, and if a jar should unfortunately occur between us, followed by a conflict, the avoirdupois of the case will be in my favor, and my object will be, if possible, to gently "sit down on him," which will settle the racket between the only remaining members of the Greenville bar of 1849.

But I must not confine my remarks to the members of the bar alone. In the periods of time that I spent in Greenville, it was my good fortune to become pleasantly acquainted very generally throughout the town and country. As it was with the bar, so it was with the personal acquaintances made when I first came. But comparatively few of them remain to greet me to-day. The others have gone. This impresses me with the

idea that I must be a "back number" brought forward for the occasion. But be that as it may, if time would permit I would be delighted to mention the names of many of the pioneer women and men, whom I found here at my first coming, and to testify to their great worth and excellence in every respect. These introductory remarks may be regarded as smacking of egotism, but I regard my long acquaintance in Greenville and the country as justifying what I have said by way of re-introducing myself to the old remaining pioneers and the descendants of those who have gone.

The occasion that calls us together is the centennial celebration of the Treaty of Greenville, commonly called Wayne's Treaty.

The nations of antiquity delighted to be able to trace their origin back to some fabulous demi-god, of miraculous, mysterious and perhaps accidental birth, to whom they gave a name, and to whom they attributed such acts, powers and greatness that in their opinion elevated him far above the sphere of ordinary mortals. The traditions upon which they relied to establish the facts concerning their origin were too old to be contradicted by living witnesses, and hence, were susceptible of being proved to the ready satisfaction of the populace, by the beautiful but fabulous legends and stories, which were invented by the genius of the poets and priests and sung by the wandering minstrels to admiring and appreciative crowds collected on the street corners or in shady groves; and in this way the courage and patriotism of the populace were stimulated to such a degree as to render them capable of performing great deeds in defense of personal rights and their country.

If it was a pleasure to the ancients to listen to these beautiful legends and fables, pertaining to the origin of their government, it ought to be a pleasure to us to familiarize ourselves with the facts relating to our origin, as well as the origin of our own State, its organization, its form, its laws, its institutions, and all that renders it great and good in the sense that places it in the front rank of states, in the grandest political Union of states that has ever existed upon earth.

Every important fact connected with our State and preced-

ing its organization are now matters of history, open to the inspection of all citizens who take an interest in our origin and development.

A connected sequence of historical facts, taking us back to the discovery of this continent by Columbus, and to the first settlements of what now constitutes the United States of America, are all available to the students of history, who are desirous of knowing the facts that occurred between the time of the discovery and the first settlements, a mere reference to which is all that can be appropriately or necessarily made on this occasion.

But we are here to celebrate the Centennial of the Treaty of Greenville.

The occasion is one of such interest, not only to the people of Ohio, but to those of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, which states were all carved out of what is known in history and in law as the "Territory northwest of the river Ohio." These states are naturally more deeply interested in the history of this territory, than are the other states, for the reason that the Treaty of Greenville was the result of somewhat local causes that had been operating, and tending to make such a treaty a necessity for many years.

The states named have, therefore, a common interest in all matters relating to this territory, that preceded its organization by the Ordinance of 1787. It will be impossible in the limits of this address to call attention with particularity to all that is of interest in this connection. All that can be done, will be to present in a general way, the controlling causes by which the territory and jurisdiction over it was acquired by the United States; the manner in which that jurisdiction was exercised from the time it was acquired until by due process of law the people of the territory organized themselves into the five states named, with defined boundaries, and were admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original states.

It is apparent that the scope of this address must necessarily be much restricted. Much interesting matter must be omitted. No effort will be made to preserve the exact chronological order of the occurrence of controlling events, though an effort will be made to prevent confusion in these respects. Attention will be

directed mainly to the territory northwest of the river Ohio, its defense by the general government against the Indians, and the battles fought with them, eventuating in the Treaty of Greenville.

We pass by the supposed laws of the Mound Builders, and the more modern savages, who, history tells us, were in the possession and occupancy of the great Northwest territory when it was first discovered by Europeans, and whose legends and fables may have been as beautiful as those of any other prehistoric peoples who have inhabited the earth; but they had no poets to put them in enduring form, to be sung by the wandering minstrels for the amusement and education of their fellows, and their oral traditions have been lost and forgotten.

By the right of discovery and occupation in 1673, France asserted her dominion and jurisdiction over all the territory west of the Alleghenies, from the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi, which includes what we know as the territory northwest of the river Ohio. France retained dominion over this vast territory until 1763, ninety years, during which time the Jesuits and agents of France, in an intelligent manner, made explorations of every part of the territory, much of which they mapped with a good deal of accuracy. They also established Indian missions in the territory, especially in the region of the Great Lakes. They planted settlements therein, principally in the central and extreme southern portions of it. They also erected and manned forts at strategic points, generally on or near some navigable stream or lake, by which they held military possession of the territory for the French Crown.

At the close of a war between England and France, in which the sovereignty of this territory was one of the many questions involved, and which resulted disastrously to France, the latter, by the treaty of 1763, was compelled to cede to the former all her possessions in America lying east of the Mississippi river.

This gave England a title by conquest to the ceded territory, which was annexed to the English Crown, and became subject to her dominion and laws. She also took military possession of it. Many of the forts mentioned had been built by France as a protection against the encroachment of the English

colonies, which were partly contiguous to or adjoining said possessions of France.

After the peace of 1763, the English having no use for the forts so built by France as a protection against England and her colonies, abandoned and destroyed all such; and thereafter England retained forcible military possession of her lately conquered territory by means of three forts under the command of English officers, one of which was at Detroit in Michigan, one at Kaskaskia in Illinois, and the other at Vincennes, Indiana. Under the law of nations, this was a sufficient possession to protect the claim of England to the territory so acquired from France as against all others.

The Revolutionary War, which commenced in 1775, was waged on the part of the colonies for the sole and only avowed purpose of achieving their independence. They had in the outset of the war no declared purpose of conquest.

The boundaries of the colonies became the boundaries of the respective states after they had become independent, and did not on the west extend beyond the crest of the Alleghenies.

It is true that after independence was achieved, three of the states, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York, set up claims to portions of the Northwest territory, by virtue of the terms of their original colonial grants from the Crown, and on a like ground Virginia claimed the entire territory northwest of the river Ohio.

There is no purpose on my part to discuss the merits of these respective claims, and they are alluded to only for the purpose of saying that they subsequently became the subjects of such heated controversies between the states as to endanger the formation of the Union itself; and that in my opinion the discussions that took place in Congress, on the subject of these claims, in which men of consummate ability took part, did more to enlighten and educate the people of the states, and in an allowable sense, the states themselves, than any other single subject that was discussed in Congress previous to the adoption of the constitution that sealed the Union. The discussions had reference to the principles of our form of government, the rights of the states respectively, and above all on the necessity of the states

meeting each other in a spirit of conciliation and compromise in settling their respective claims in order that the formation of the Union might be rendered possible.

It is interesting, as well as gratifying, to know that the spirit of compromise prevailed, and that the states directly interested in the controversy respecting this great territory, with the exception of some special reservation on the part of Connecticut and Virginia, which were conceded to be just, in due form ceded to the United States in trust for the benefit of the people of the several states all their respective claims to the great Northwest territory, but for which compromise I am persuaded the Union could not have been formed and perfected by the adoption of the constitution, and perhaps the Treaty of Greenville, which affected so vitally the great territory in question, might never have been made.

We go back for the purpose of briefly tracing our title to the great Northwest territory. By the right of discovery and occupation, France asserted her dominion over all the territory west of the Alleghenies, from the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi from 1673 to 1763. During these ninety years the territory that is now Ohio, was subject to the laws of France; and although these laws left their impression upon the lands in some localities outside of what is now Ohio territory, they made no lasting impression here. This may be accepted as evidence of the fact that when the civilization and laws of the Anglo-Saxons come in collision with those of Latins, the latter give way.

By the treaty of 1763 between France and Great Britain the former ceded to the latter all her possessions in North America lying east of the Mississippi river. This, as before said, gave Great Britain a title by conquest to the ceded territory, and all of it, including that portion that is now Ohio, became subject to her dominion and laws, and remained so till 1783, when she acknowledged the independence of the states in rebellion against her authority; and the Mississippi was fixed as the western boundary of the territory that was thereafter to be subject to the government and laws of the United States.

But how came the Mississippi to be made the western boundary of the territory acquired by that treaty? It was by the

forcible ousting of the English from the territory during the Revolutionary War, and the taking and holding forcible military possession of it by Virginia till the close of the war. This made a holding of the possession of the territory adverse to the English, and this, under the law of nations, gave the United States at the time of the treaty of peace in 1783, a right to insist that they hold the territory to the Mississippi river by conquest. This right was eventually conceded by England, and by the treaty, the Mississippi was made the western boundary of the territory, to which England relinquished all claim by the treaty. If England had still been in foricble military possession of it, at the time of the treaty, after holding such forcible possession by conquest from France, it is a very serious problem whether her sovereignty over it would have been relinquished to the United States. The latter made her claim through Virginia, whose claim under a Crown grant has heretofore been mentioned; and it will be proper now to state how Virginia came into forcible military possession of the territory. Previous to the revolution in 1774, the Indians inhabiting Northwest territory and Canada were in the habit of making raids into the western borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia for the purpose of obtaining scalps and plunder from the whites. These raids became so serious that Virginia determined to put an end to them by war upon the tribes. A military force was raised and sent against them. In 1775, the battle of Point Pleasant, on the Ohio, was fought. It was the most stubborn and sanguinary Indian battle that was ever fought to a finish on this continent. The Indians were overwhelmingly defeated. They then sued for peace, and a treaty of peace was made, with which none of the parties were afterwards satisfied. The result was that the Indians were peaceable for some two years, when they again commenced their predatory warfare against the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

Now came to the front one of the most remarkable men of those remarkable times — George Rogers Clarke. He lived in Albemarle county, Virginia. He was of large size, to which his physical strength corresponded. He was mentally a very able man, and was an experienced Indian fighter and was of undoubted courage and determination. The Indians were trained

and commanded by English officers, and were fitted out, sheltered and protected by the English at the forts of Kaskaskia and Vincennes while prosecuting their wars against the frontiers; and on their return from their forays, laden with scalps and plunder, they were received by the English with demonstrations of joy and hearty approval. Under these circumstances Clarke was of the opinion that the Indians could not be whipped adequately to make them desist from their savage warfare against the frontiers, while they could flee, when necessary to avoid punishment, to the protection of the British forts above named, where they were armed and encouraged to continue their depradations on the whites.

Without counselling with any one on the subject, Clarke conceived the bold design of making a conquest of the great Northwest territory by taking and holding Forts Kaskaskia and Vincennes, after which the Indians could be driven from the territory. On submitting his designs and plans to Governor Henry of Virginia, they were approved, and through his influence, after much delay and vexation, during which Clarke mortgaged all his property to raise money to forward his scheme of conquest, a force of about two hundred, which was to have been three hundred and fifty men, was organized and placed under the command of Clarke. In January, 1778, he marched to Pittsburg, where he and his army took boats and commenced the descent of the Ohio, for a point on the river opposite to Kaskaskia, and about sixty miles from its mouth. The delays of the voyage, from causes incident to those early times and imperfect means of transportation, were such that he did not arrive at the point above indicated until the fall of 1778. As soon as his boats were secured he commenced his march against Kaskaskia. The march was one of great hardships, but his men endured them cheerfully when they saw their commander marching in the front, rifle in hand and carrying his provisions on his back.

It is almost needless to say that he took the British by surprise and the garrison surrendered without resistance.

This peril then confronted him. Vincennes, which was a strong military post, under the command of the British Lieuten-

ant Governor Hamilton, lay directly between Kaskaskia and the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Clarke, looking facts boldly in the face, said: "I must take Hamilton, or he will take me." With him, decision was followed by instant action. With only one hundred and thirty men, the others remaining to defend the fort, he at once started from Kaskaskia in February, 1789, to march across the country to capture Vincennes. There is no time now to speak of that terrible march, in which for days and days the men were constanly wading in water from two to four feet deep. It is without a parallel in history.

No other man than Clarke could have brought his men through it, but he did it without the loss of a man, though many of them were so weak as to require the assistance of those who were stronger when they reached ten acres of dry land about two miles from Vincennes. Even then Governor Hamilton had no notice of Clarke's approach. and the latter having captured some Indians with some Buffalo meat, held them prisoners until he had fed his famished men upon the captured meat. He then literally waded against the fort and after one day's fighting, it surrendered.

The Virginians then manned the forts so strongly that the English made no subsequent demonstration against them, and thus the former held armed military possession of the territory until the close of the revolution; and being so in possession, their right to the territory was admitted in the treaty of peace, and, as before said, the entire Northwest territory was ceded by England to the United States by that treaty.

I doubt whether history, taking everything into consideration, shows a parallel to this conquest of Clarke's. It strikes me, that without this conquest and continued military occupation of the territory up to the time peace was concluded, neither the United States nor Virginia had any claim to the territory that would have been valid under the law of nations.

Perhaps but few now listening to me have ever before heard of George Rogers Clarke, or know of his great conquests, the benefits of which we are to-day enjoying throughout the conquered territory, which now consists of five free and independent states, each constituting a star of the first magnitude in the grand

galaxy of states composing our beloved Union. By his great valor and courage, he was instrumental in the extinguishment of the sovereignty of England over the territory composing these states. But while the conquest swept away the claims of England, it did not extinguish the title of the Indians to the lands in the territory, which title they acquired and held by virtue of original discovery and continued occupancy of it, until their title to a large portion of the territory was extinguished by the Treaty of Greenville.

I therefore suggest that on this occasion the memories of George Rogers Clarke and Anthony Wayne should be associated and equally cherished by the people of the five great states created out of the territory: the one to be remembered as the extinguisher of the sovereignty of England over the territory, the other to be remembered as the extinguisher of the Indian title to a large portion of the territory by the Treaty of Greenville, after having conquered a peace that made the treaty a necessity to the Indians in order to save themselves from extinguishment.

Just one word by way of digression, respecting the two great men I have just named. As above said, Clarke mortgaged his property for more than it was worth to raise the money to equip his little, but great, army of conquest. Virginia recognized the greatness of the services of himself and his men, and made them a princely donation of lands in the conquered territory, in compensation of their services, and which donation was subsequently recognized and validated by the United States. It is to be hoped that his men received more benefit from the donation than did their gallant commander, whose share of the lands was seized and sold by his creditors to pay the debts he had contracted in equipping his army. He died poor.

The other, General Wayne, died in Erie, Pennsylvania, in the government service, for want of what, to him, were the necessaries of life. I visited his tomb, years ago, and as I approached it I respectfully uncovered my head, and as I stood there, silently contemplating the hazardous scenes through which he passed in his active military life, those that stood in the front line of my thoughts were the "Battle of Fallen Timbers" and the "Treaty of Greenville," as they are in your minds to-day.

Here, in order to mention one other thing of supreme importance in connection with the Treaty of Greenville, I must again go back a few years, and call attention to other matters with which the patriot fathers were earnestly wrestling, with fear and trembling as to the fate of their beloved country whose independence they had recently achieved. Although they were still clinging to the "Articles of the Confederation" and the Congress of the States, held under it, as the sheet anchor of their hopes, it had become clearly apparent that the ties of the Articles of Confederation were too weak and inefficient to accomplish the purposes of a union of independent states, such as they contemplated, and for which they hoped and prayed.

No point of time can be more interesting to citizens of the Northwest territory than that to which attention is now directed. The war of the Revolution had been brought to successful termination. The Articles of Confederation were in force, and the Congress of the States held under it was doing all it could do to meet and harmonize the conflicting interests and demands of the states of the Union. The constitutional convention had met in May, 1787, and was in session at Philadelphia, but it was unknown what the outcome of its labors would be. The last Congress of the States under the confederation was sitting in New York, in which only eight states were represented, and it was manifest that it was about to fall to pieces of its own weight, or from want of cohesive and coercive powers.

The citizens of the Northwest territory have especial reasons to look back with reverence and affection upon the congress of the old confederation; for it was the territories northwest of the river Ohio that were the objects of its last and most solicitous care. With its expiring breath it gave to them the "Ordinance of '87", and in pursuance of its provisions appointed a governor and three judges, who were to organize a civil government within its boundaries, and adjourned never to meet again.

Two months afterwards (September 17th, 1787), the convention promulgated the Constitution of the United States which was adopted and is supreme, but at the time of which we are speaking the "Ordinance" in its relation to the territories was scarcely inferior in importance to the constitution itself. Except

as to the initial and temporary government of the governor and judges, it contained an announcement of the true theory of American liberty, and provided everything necessary to the development of free and independent states, and for their admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, and this for the time being was what was best suited to their condition. It was a code complete within itself.

It will be remembered, however, that the Indian title to the Northwest territory had not been conclusively extinguished to any part of it. It is true that by the treaty of Fort McIntosh the whites claimed that there had been an extinguishment of the Indian title to a large portion of what is now Ohio; but the Indians claimed that the treaty had been made by certain Indians who had no power to make it, and that it was, therefore, fraudulent and void. Notwithstanding this claim of the Indians, however, settlers had begun to flock into the territory shortly after the adoption of the Ordinance, and were being from time to time attacked, murdered and scalped by the Indians at all vulnerable points.

The great importance of the Treaty of Greenville, consisted in the fact, that it in a conclusive way swept away the Indian title to all the land south or east of the treaty line, and thus gave full effect to the beneficent provisions of the Ordinance of '87 in nearly all that portion of the territory that now constitutes the state of Ohio. But this was not all, the Treaty of Greenville became a precedent, and the principles it established were those, substantially, that were subsequently applied in extinguishing the Indian title to the residue of the great Northwest territory, which is now sufficient in itself to constitute an empire in population, and in all things else that constitute goodness and greatness in government; lying at the bottom of which are the lasting effects of the Treaty of Greenville.

It is impossible for me to say on the subjects that I have above spoken of all that I ought to say upon them, but I hope I have said enough to show the importance of the Treaty of Greenville, which, to the pioneers of the territory, was like the shadow of a great rock in a desert land, under which they could lie down and rest in safety, while on their march to empire.

Inasmuch as that portion of the territory which now constitutes the state of Ohio was the first to receive the benefits of the Ordinance of '87 and the Treaty of '95, and was also the first state developed and prepared for admission into the Union under their provisions; as showing what occurred in Ohio in respect to its organization as a territory, its early laws, and admission into the Union, we give the substance of some of them; and assuming that what occurred in Ohio in these respects, probably occurred in substantially the same way in the organization of the other four states that were formed from the Northwest territory, we give those that occurred in Ohio as samples of what probably occurred in respect to the others.

The Governor and two of the judges appointed by the old congress, arrived at Marietta on the 9th of July, 1778, and established the first form of civil government within the territory. A few settlers had preceded them to that point and were literally encamped in the wilderness.

In confirmation of the maxim that self-preservation is the first law of nature, on the 25th of July, 1788, they published a law for regulating and establishing the militia, which was the first law published in the territory. The third section reads thus: "And, whereas, in the infant state of a country, defense and protection are absolutely essential, all male inhabitants of the age of sixteen and upwards shall be armed, equipped and accoutred in the following manner: with a musket and bayonet, or rifle, cartridge box, pouch, or powder horn and bullet pouch, with forty rounds of cartridges, or one pound of powder and four pounds of lead, priming wire and brush, and six flints."

And by the fourth section, amongst other things it is provided that the "corps shall be paraded at ten o'clock in the morning of each first day of the week, armed and equipped as aforesaid, in convenient places next adjacent to the places of public worship, etc.", and the reason given for this was that it was necessary in order to avert danger.

The salient points of other laws may be noticed for the purpose of contrasting those early times with the present, thus showing the advances in civilization that have been made in our state

in less than a century. For instance, by a law of September, 1788, the punishment affixed to the commission of crimes, although deemed necessary then, would now be called cruel and unusual. Treason was punishable with death and forfeiture of estates real and personal. To the malicious burning of a dwelling house the same punishment and forfeitures were affixed. Malicious murder was punishable with death. The punishment for other felonies and misdemeanors was generally by whipping, never exceeding thirty-nine lashes, and in some cases not exceeding ten lashes, and sitting in the stocks from one to three hours was also generally prescribed in addition.

It is interesting to us lawyers to know the fact that the fees for practicing attorneys were fixed by law, and ranged from one dollar in the quarter sessions to two dollars in the Supreme Court, for each case tried and argued. There was no intention that lawyers should become bloated capitalists.

Assessments for the support of the organized counties were made in money or specific articles as the assessor deemed best, and if not paid promptly the party assessed was imprisoned till the payment was made, or his discharge ordered.

If a single man became indebted and could not pay in cash, he would, with the consent of the creditor, be ordered by the court to pay in personal services, not to exceed seven years in any case. Under like circumstances a married man could not be required to serve more than five years.

These laws, selected at random as examples of the laws published or adopted by the Governor and Judges, are not referred to in either a querulous or frivolous sense. They have upon their face internal evidence of the circumstances and necessities of the people for whose government and preservation they were made. Much more may be readily inferred from them than is expressed in their words. They were made in the unbroken wilderness by pioneers for pioneers. All were to be soldiers. All were to be honest, and if they were not they were either to be hanged or whipped out of the country. They had to pay their assessments, either in corn or cash as the case might be, or go to jail. There should be no extortioners, and bachelors were at a discount as compared with husbands.

So far this sketch is intended to direct attention in a general and historical way to some of the laws affecting in a greater or less degree what now constitutes Ohio territory, from the time of its occupation by Europeans, down to the point at which we have arrived. One of the provisions of our first constitution is here quoted: "That a frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of government is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty."

This enunciation of a great principle pertaining to civil government is as true to-day as when it was announced nearly one hundred years ago. Startling and significant events have occurred in the meantime, affecting us as a state and as a people; endangering not only Ohio, but our Union itself. But by clinging and adhering to the great principles upon which our governments, federal and state, are founded, and resorting to the strong arm of the military power, only when required to do so solely for their preservation against military force brought against them and intended for their destruction, we have been able to maintain our civil governments in all their pristine beauty and vigor, and the states formed from the Northwest territory have also reaped rich harvest from the seeds that were planted when the Treaty of Greenville was made. And to slightly paraphrase the words of a great statesman, let us say "that if we are not stricken with judicial blindness we will cling to our constitutions and treaties, as the mariner clings to the last plank when night and tempest close around him."

ADDRESS OF HON. SAMUEL H. DOYLE.

DELIVERED AT GREENVILLE, OHIO, AUGUST 3, 1895.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I come to you from the adjoining State to join with you in this celebration. We have a common interest in this historic event with you. I will detain you but a few minutes. We have been together and associated together in four of the great important events that have touched the Northwest. When Wolfe met the French at Quebec this territory was transferred from France to Great Britain. When General George Rodgers Clark found the British holding the forts in the Northwest, and throughout this territory, he was enabled to capture Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and this country was turned over to the United States, all that rich domain northwest of the Ohio being secured to the Republic in consequence of his prowess. Again, Indiana was associated with you when the Ordinance of 1787 was adopted, — the grandest ordinance for the government of territory that has ever been conceived by man. Its influence has been radiating from that day to this. Again, we were interested and associated with you when the splendid victories were made after a series of defeats that culminated in the Treaty in your city, which you are honoring to-day.

The respect that you are showing here is appreciated not only by Ohio, but by every State in the Northwest. The paper presented gave us a fine historical account of how we have traveled together, how we have been associated together. Yours was the first State formed under the Ordinance of 1787; my good State, Indiana, was the second; but from the days of that Ordinance and from the days of this Treaty, we have moved a pace that has incited the admiration of the world. The Indians, up to the time that Wayne passed through with his army held this country in their grasp. The Revolutionary War had been closed for a number of years, and there was a large portion of the population that wanted to come westward. But the Indian

said, "No, the Ohio river is in our possession, we will hold it." Boat after boat that came down the Ohio was captured and the persons on board were massacred. Never had we any permanent peace to offer to the eastern settlers until after Wayne had succeeded at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, and brought within your city more than twelve tribes and fifty chiefs and secured the treaty, a fac-simile of which you see here.

I have an interest, I say, as a citizen of Indiana. I have, too, another interest. When a small boy I heard at my grandfather's knee the story of the march through this wilderness. I have heard the story over and over again. I want to call your attention to the condition of the fire-arms used in that contest. They were spoken of and described by the speaker. They were all of the old flint lock pattern; breech loaders, loaded with a coarse powder made prime with a fine powder, and it took ten times the space of time to load that it would with your muskets. Here is a powder flask that passed from the Ohio river up to the Battle of Fallen Timbers, and it is treasured to-day in my house. Money would not buy it. It is a quaint old powder flask, but we appreciate it.

Gentlemen, it is now past the noon hour, and I am here merely as a visitor and a citizen of the adjoining State, and I will not continue my remarks. I thank you kindly.

SUPERIOR, WISCONSIN, July 31, '95.

Messrs. Robeson, Martz and Hunter,

GENTLEMEN: — Your cordial invitation to the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Treaty of Greenville greets me here. I have also been commissioned by the Governor of Wisconsin to represent him on that occasion.

It grieves me much, that circumstances beyond my control forbid me to join with you in commemorating what was, in my view of the case, the true birthday of all our trans-Ohio-river greatness.

Before Wayne, all was embryo or chaos. Indians, backed

by British, triumphant, and British holding the western posts as tenaciously as so many Gibralters. But Wayne saw, by the light of nature, the only effective policy. His text was: Scalp them first, and then preach to them. He scalped at Maumee, he preached at Greenville. The posts were surrendered and aboriginal depredations came to a perpetual end. The eagle braves no more moved the wing, or opened their mouth, or peeped.

Ohio, Mother of the West, even to the utmost bound of her everlasting hills, and to the boundless Pacific, may her second century be in keeping with her first!

Regardfully yours,

JAMES D. BUTLER.

THE WESTERN RESERVE.

How it has Played an Important Part in the History of Ohio and of the Nation.

BY F. E. HUTCHINS, ESQ.

The Connecticut Western Reserve, or, as it is commonly called, "The Western Reserve," has from the beginning played an important part not only in the affairs of the State of Ohio, but also in those of the United States. While there is a very good general idea of what this "Reserve" now is, especially among its own people and those of the State, but little is generally known of its origin, history, settlement, or the reason for its name. The subject is much too extensive to be treated except in the most general way, upon such an occasion as this.

It had its origin in that most prolific source of controversies among men and nations — a dispute as to boundary — and was the result of that which if adopted, as in this case, would prevent much of war and litigation — a compromise.

From the first settlement of this country by the early Pilgrims, the British Sovereigns, from "Good Queen Bess", down to a time near our revolution, had made extensive grants of land in this country to the different colonies and provinces here, and to favorites of the Crown, and some in payment of debts and obligations, notably, so far as this talk is concerned, to Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Maryland, and Virginia, and to Lord Baltimore and William Penn.

Some of these grants extended clear across the continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, while others had very indefinite extents and boundaries, frequently conflicting with and overlapping upon each other, so that under these grants, different provinces and different persons claimed the same land. And, as none had any other title than that from the British Crown, infinite confusion and disputes ensued. These disputes became so fierce as to result in armed hostilities and in the shed-

ding of blood. They were many times before the Colonial Congress, and they delayed the acceptance of the Articles of Confederation, which were not finally accepted by the Thirteen Colonies until 1777, Maryland being the last to come in.

Many of the most distinguished citizens and statesmen of that time took part in the endeavor to adjust these disputes and settle these conflicting claims, and their efforts were finally crowned with success, resulting in the cession and surrender of these disputed claims and lands to the general Government for the benefit of all the States.

And here, as this entertainment is intended to be somewhat educational in its character, I want to stop in my history of the Western Reserve to tell you of something in which the people of that section have felt most profound interest. You have all heard of the famous "Mason and Dixon's Line," by which the compromise measures of Congress endeavored to settle the irreconcilable conflict between slavery and freedom in the United States, to prevent two irreconcilable and antagonistic principles from coming in conflict when placed side by side, by devoting all of our territory and public domain, west of the Missouri and north of that line to freedom, and all south of it to slavrey.

The general idea, and I have no doubt most of you shart it, is that this line had its origin and name in these iniquitous compromise measures fixing the boundary between freedom and slavery, but this is a mistake. The line was run and had its name nearly a century earlier, and it came about in this way: King Charles I had made a large grant of land to Lord Baltimore and Charles II had made large grants to his brother the Duke of York, and one to William Penn in payment of a debt due to Penn's father. These grants included what are now the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, and much more. Penn purchased from the Duke of York much or all of his title. The boundaries of these grants were so uncertain as to lead to most serious disputes and controversies, chiefly as to what was the southern boundary of William Penn's grant — the Province of Pennsylvania — and the northern boundary of Maryland and Virginia. These began between William Penn and Lord Baltimore. Finally these two proprietors sent over from England

two eminent mathematicians, Jeremiah Mason and Charles Dixon, to survey and settle this line, which they did in 1763-1767. They surveyed and established a line commencing at a point in the Delaware River and running due west, and marked it with mile-stones for two hundred and forty-four miles, which was the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and the northern one of Maryland, and has so remained to this day. Its precise location is 39 degrees 43 minutes 26 3-10 seconds north latitude. Subsequently the same kind of dispute arose between Pennsylvania and Virginia, which continued until after the close of the Revolutionary War and was settled in 1785 by extending the original Mason and Dixon's line due west five degrees of longitude, to be computed from the Delaware River, as the southern boundary of Pennsylvania and the northern one of Virginia, and establishing a line running north from this point and extremity as the western boundary of Pennsylvania, and so it has remained to this day; this latter line became also the eastern line of the Western Reserve.

This was the origin of the famous Mason and Dixon's line — famous for the part it had in the irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery in the United States; and it will be seen that in its origin, it had nothing whatever to do with this matter. Its only subsequent connection with this subject was that by the compromise measures of 1850, Congress adopted an extension of this line west of the State of Missouri as the boundary line between the prospective free and slave States.

And it will be seen that from first to last the line was a compromise — first, a rightful compromise, in favor of peace and unity, of the disputed claims of contesting owners, and last, a base compromise between freedom and slavery, by which the representatives in the Congress of a great free Republic undertook to devote a territory, large enough for an empire, forever to human slavery and human bondage. And the ill fame of Mason and Dixon's line, thus acquired by its subsequent adoption in a bad cause, has so overshadowed the just fame of its origin that the latter is little known and less remembered.

But, to return to our history of the Reserve. As I have said, the States having claims to western territory surrendered

the same to the general Government. Connecticut, in doing so by her deed of cession of September 14, 1786, reserved a tract of land bounded north by the international line, east by the western line of Pennsylvania, south by the forty-first parallel of north latitude, and west by a line parallel with and one hundred and twenty miles west from the Pennsylvania line.

Practically the northern line is Lake Erie, so that this territory is bounded north by Lake Erie, east by Pennsylvania, south by forty-one degrees north latitude, and west by a line parallel with and one hundred and twenty miles west of the Pennsylvania line. And this is the "Connecticut Western Reserve," and so called because Connecticut, in surrendering her claims to western lands, reserved to herself this territory and did not grant it by her deed of cession.

By reference to your maps you will see that this forty-first parallel of north latitude — the southern boundary of the Reserve, — passes through the southern parts of Mahoning and Summit counties, and is the southern line of Portage, Medina, and Huron counties. The Reserve now embraces Ashtabula and Trumbull counties, two-thirds of Mahoning, Portage, Geauga, Lake, and Cuyahoga, and the most of Summit, Medina, Lorain, Erie and Huron counties.

During the Revolutionary War many people of Connecticut had seriously suffered, chiefly from fire, from the incursions of the British troops, and the State being poorly able to compensate them in money decided to do so in land. Accordingly the General Assembly of that State appointed a committee to determine the names and losses of these sufferers. The number was thus determined to be 1,870, and the aggregate of losses £161,548 11s 6½d, and on May 11, 1792, the State quit-claimed for the benefit of these sufferers its title to 500,000 acres of land lying across the west end of the Western Reserve, embracing what are now the counties of Erie and Huron. And this tract has ever since been known as "The Fire Lands."

After the cession of her western claims to the general government and the use of the Fire Lands portion of the Reserve to pay her debt to some of her people, it became a serious question with Connecticut what to do with the remainder of the

Western Reserve. It was not exactly like a "White Elephant" on her lands, for it cost her nothing, but it was quite like one in the respect that she had no use for it and could not sell it. She tried to sell it and failed. It was a long way off from Connecticut, was a wilderness scarcely known, and was inhabited only by savages, who claimed and had an older and better title than she had. Besides, her own title was liable to serious objection and was in great danger of being superseded by the better title of the United States, derived either from the cessions from the other States claiming the same territory, or, if they had no title, from the treaty of peace with Great Britain, which ceded to the United States all her claims to this territory. There was another reason, to be mentioned later, why Connecticut found it difficult to sell the Western Reserve, but finally in September, 1795, she sold the whole remaining tract, without measurement, to thirty-five persons for $1,200,000. This, the largest land sale ever made in Ohio, was purely a matter of speculation.

The purchase was supposed to contain over 4,000,000 acres, and at just 4,000,000 acres, the original price of all the land in the Western Reserve, except the Fire Lands, was thirty cents an acre. But, because Lake Erie, the north boundary, took toward the west, a more southerly trend than was supposed or shown by the old maps, the amount was in fact, a little less than three million acres. The fact that a mistake of over a million acres could be made in a single land sale will serve to call attention to the then condition of this part of the country, and how little was known of it.

This $1,200,000, with its accumulated interest, has for many years constituted the entire common school fund of the State of Connecticut. It could not well have been put to better use.

The purchase was made upon credit, the purchasers giving their several bonds for several sums aggregating $1,200,000, and afterwards generally securing their payment by mortgages. While the purchase was nominally made by thirty-five persons, there were fifty-eight interested in it.

These organized themselves into what is known as "The Connecticut Land Co.," caused the purchase to be surveyed into townships five miles square, and subsequently divided it among

the owners in proportion to the sum paid by each of the $1,200,000 purchase price.

There is much interesting history connected with this part of the transaction, but the time or occasion does not serve to state it here; but there are a few facts connected with it that ought to be more generally known. Usually in tracing title to land in this country, and whenever that title is in dispute, it is necessary, in order to maintain it, to trace the title, in regular succession, either to a sovereign State or to the United States, the only recognized sources of title to lands. But on the Western Reserve, outside of the Fire Lands, it is necessary to trace it back only to the Connecticut Land Company. This is because by the act of its legislature all the title that Connecticut had to this part of the Reserve passed to and vested in that company, so that if the State had title this Company had, and any tile properly derived from it must be good and it is unnecessary to go back any further. And, on the other hand, if Connecticut had no title originally, because of the better title in one or more of the States, yet these had conveyed their title to the general Government, and if none of them had title then the United States obtained an absolute title by the treaty of peace with Great Britain, and when later, as will be mentioned, it accepted governmental jurisdiction over the Reserve, it confirmed the title of Connecticut and of the Land Company. So that there is no place where there is better or more security for land titles than on the Reserve, as they merge the title of all the claimant States of the United States, and of Great Britain. But even this, as in the case of most original land grabbers, takes no account of the better Indian title, of which I shall speak later.

Another matter of interest is the frequency with which the names of persons occur in the names of townships on the Reserve. As I have said, the Connecticut Land Company apportioned its land in proportion to the sums paid by the original purchasers. In some cases, one paid for and took a whole township and called it after his name. Thus Cleveland was named for General Moses Cleveland, Warren for Moses Warren, one of the surveyors and proprietors, Youngstown for John Young, and many others in the same way.

Another matter of interest and of more importance is the way land is decribed on the Reserve, as to the township in which it lies, on deeds of conveyance. Originally, and to a great extent still, it is described as being in township number — of Range — west, in the Connecticut Western Reserve, and this is quite as accurate and certain without the name of the township or even the county as with it. As I have said, the southeast corner of the Western Reserve is the intersection of the western line of Pennsylvania with the forty-first parallel of north latitude. The surveyors laid off the Reserve into townships five miles square, beginning five miles west of this southeast corner, and running north to the north boundary, Lake Erie. Other parallel lines, five miles apart, were run until the western boundary was reached. The spaces between these lines were called ranges. Thus, the first, or the one next the Pennsylvania line, was called range one, the next, range two, and so on. Then lines were run transversely, or east and west, five miles apart, beginning five miles north of the south boundary line. The spaces between these lines were called townships, and were numbered consecutively from the southern lines, so that a township was accurately described by stating in what range it was west and the number of township north. Thus Youngstown is township two of range two, for it is the second townsnip north of the southern boundary and in the second range of townships west of the Pennsylvania line. Warren is township four because it is the fourth one north, and range four because it is the fourth range of townships west of the Pennsylvania line. So that any township is accurately described by its number and range.

Having thus spoken very generally of the survey and distribution of these lands, we now go back to the time when this survey was begun. These bold prospectors of a new country had bought a large tract of land for an enormous sum in those days, and the serious question for them with reference to this purchase, was "What shall the harvest be?" Many of them were anxious to try their fortunes in the West, but it was a very far-off West. Not only was their purchase an absolutely unbroken wilderness, but it was separated from them by many leagues of wilderness, forest, lake, river, swamp, and mountain, inhabited by

the most savage and warlike Indian tribes, with no roads but such as they cut through the woods, and no food or supplies but what they took with them. Canandaigua, N. Y., and Pittsburg were the western outposts of civilization, the Reserve being absolutely uninhabited save by Indians, and save the ponies and dogs of the Indians, not a domestic animal was in the entire territory, nor was there any white settlement or road.

Under these circumstances the purchasers of the Reserve undertook to find out "What shall the harvest be." In the spring of 1796 they sent out a party of surveyors, fifty persons all told, with General Moses Cleveland at the head. Some of them took their families with them, intending to settle there. The party assembled at Schenectady and finally reached Buffalo Creek, where the city of Buffalo now stands, and there they purchased from the Indians the remainder of their title to the land.

And here, to their credit, and much to our gratification also, be it said, the whole Indian title for this land was bought from them and paid for. Not a foot of it was obtained by conquest or force, — a happy exception to the way that Indian titles have generally been disposed of.

True, as is usual, the Indians were cheated because of their ignorance of the value of what they sold and of what they got; nevertheless it was a bargain to which both agreed, and it was not, as was generally the case, the taking by the strong hand what the weaker one could not hold. The price paid for the remainder of this title was £500 New York currency, paid in trade, two beef cattle, and one hundred gallons of whisky. It would seem, if this party of fifty reserved any considerable quantity for themselves, they must have started out with a pretty good supply of whisky, and while that beverage has played many of the settlers of the Reserve many a scurvy trick, it stood these men in good stead, for whisky was so essential an element in every Indian trade that probably without it the bargain could not have been consummated.

The party proceeded westward to the present site of Conneaut, which they reached July 4th, and proceeded to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of independence, which they did, say

the old chroniclers, with much enthusiasm and "several pails of grog." This place they made their base, and the settlement of the Reserve properly dates from this celebration.

From here General Cleveland and some of his companions moved west to the mouth of the Cuyahoga, where Cleveland now stands. But there was no Cleveland there then — nothing but the lake, the mouth of the river, and the wilderness, but ever since then there have been white settlers at that place.

The survey lasted some years, but was finally completed and the land divided, as I have said. Meanwhile settlements proceeded but slowly. Besides its remoteness from civilization, the leagues of wilderness that lay between, and its own wilderness character, the title of Connecticut and therefore of the Land Company was always more or less questioned. In addition to this was the most unique fact in the history of any country: When Connecticut sold to the Land Company, she parted so far as she could, with all her right, jurisdictional as well as to the soil, but whether a State could transfer its jurisdiction over half its territory to a party of private land speculators and confer upon them governmental jurisdiction, was a serious question.

Certainly the purchasers never attempted to exercise any such governmental jurisdiction nor to enact any laws. They made frequent applications to Connecticut to extend her jurisdiction and laws over the territory, and to the United States to accept jurisdiction, but all were refused. The purchasers and settlers repudiated the ordinance of 1787 as extending to this territory, because to accept it would be to admit a superior title in the United States, which would be fatal to that of Connecticut and therefore fatal to that of the Land Company and the settlers.

Subsequently, in 1800, acts of Congress and of the Connecticut legislature confirmed the title of Connecticut to the soil of the Reserve on the one hand, and released to the United States all jurisdiction over it on the other. And then, for the first time in its history, the Western Reserve came within any civil jurisdiction and its people were protected and governed by law. But, from the time of the sale by Connecticut to the Connecticut Land Company in 1795 to this acceptance of jurisdiction in 1800, the

Western Reserve was absolutely without laws or government of any kind. There were no courts, no laws, no records, no magistrates or police and no modes of enforcing or protecting land titles, contracts, or personal rights. It was a veritable "No man's Land", so far as government and law were concerned. This was a poor place for lawyers, as it always is where people will behave themselves without them. It was not even a pure Democracy, for there the people meet to enact laws and enforce rights. Here they did not and could not. Some seventy miles of unbroken wilderness of forests, lakes, rivers, and swamps separated the two settlements at Cleveland and Youngstown. And yet, so trained to civil government and obedience to law were the settlers that they felt no need of either.

Lands were bought and sold, personal contracts made, marriages solemnized, and personal rights respected as in the best-governed societies, and all without government and without law. This speaks well for these Yankee pioneers, who brought with them into the wilderness much of the training and spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers, and of the manners, customs, and habits of New England, which have made our people so like those of that section and so many of our towns and villages like their prototypes of New England. In many of our villages I can almost see my native town, New Milford, Connecticut, with its white churches, shoolhouse, stores, shops and tavern fronting on the village green. But I miss, and gladly, the whipping post and stocks that used to stand on the green almost in front of the church. These were among the institutions that those pioneers thought they could get along without and left behind, as they did also their very bad habit of burning and drowning witches, and I have never heard that our people have suffered from the discontinuance of these punishments. Possibly we might not suffer from some more leniency in the punishments we now inflict. Besides the abandonment of the hanging and drowning of suspected witches and of the stocks and whipping post there are other reforms in our penal code that we might adopt with credit to our humanity.

In the same year (1800) that the Reserve came within civil jurisdiction, the whole was organized into one county, Trumbull,

with the county seat at Warren. This has been subdivided into the twelve counties comprising the present Western Reserve.

We have thus very generally traced the history of the Connecticut Western Reserve from the causes that led to it down to the time of the survey and the distribution of its land and its organization under civil government. Looking back over a period of more than a hundred years, we have seen the first rude settlements at Conneaut and at Cleveland, and contrasting its present with its then condition, we may form some idea of what lay before those bold New England pioneers in this substantially unknown wilderness, which afforded them not even the means of subsistence.

The settlers at Conneaut and Cleveland had to obtain their supplies from the nearest point in the State of New York where they were obtainable, while for those in the southern portion Pittsburg was the nearest point at which they could obtain the means of subsistence, and in each case, through an unbroken wilderness as wild and pathless as that they inhabited. Some idea of prices under these circumstances may be formed when we know that common coarse salt cost six dollars per bushel.

The next settlement was in 1797 at Youngstown. This soon took precedence of all others and retained it for some years. In 1798 there were but fifteen families on the Reserve. Ten of these were at Youngstown, three at Cleveland, and two at Mentor. In 1799 Youngstown was the largest town on the Reserve, and Warren, which was laid out in the spring of that year, was the next, but soon became the first in size and importance. In 1800 there were 1,302 persons on the Reserve, and from this period the number increased rapidly.

To describe the life of these early settlers would be to describe the life of the first settlers of every new forest country. It was a life of hardship, toil, and privation, with few of the comports and none of the luxuries of life. The trees had to be cut away to make room for the houses and forests cleared for fields; fences were of poles, and plows were guided between and around the stumps; houses were of rough logs, and floors of puncheons or split logs laid with the flat side

up, and rough benches and stools served as chairs and sofas. Occasionally there was a house of hewed logs, but these were the aristocratic mansions of the day and were not common. The principal recreations for the men were hunting, fishing, and trapping, while for the women — well, poor souls, they didn't have any. Life on the Reserve to-day is one thing. It was different then.

But these people had brought with them from their far-off Eastern homes, the New England ideas of religion and of the importance of education, and wherever they went in sufficient numbers the church and the schoolhouse followed as soon as a clearing could be made for them. Rude and primitive they were, as were the homes of the settlers, but "The groves were God's first temples" and perhaps the rude church of the pioneers was the next. And who shall say that the religion inculcated there in that solemn forest cathedral, where "the stars were the chandeliers and the deep-toned thunder the organ," was not as pure, undefiled, and acceptable as that in the "long-drawn aisle and fretted vault" of any modern cathedral? And, judging from the result, education, the twin sister of religion, has not suffered from her early life in the log schoolhouse of the western pioneer. Ideas of religion and education were as deeply rooted in the minds and hearts of these people as was their love for liberty and independence, and to this we owe the facts that nowhere in a large and thickly settled country are the people generally so moral and well behaved as on the Reserve, and no place where education is so general among the people.

It is a singular circumstance that a people who had fled from tyranny to obtain freedom and whose love of liberty was so deeply rooted as it was in our ancestors, should themselves be a people of slave holders, but such was the fact, and slavery prevailed to a greater or less extent in every province and State. But in the north it was felt to be incompatible with their idea of personal liberty, hence was never extensively practiced and was early abandoned. But that slavery was a sort of divine institution was one of the religious tenets of very religious Connecticut.

But that this was a matter of education and not of real honest belief in shown by the fact that no sooner had they broken out of the shell of New England conservatism and cast off the swaddling clothes of New England superstition that had cramped and deformed them and had migrated to where freedom lived and kept open house out doors, than their real love of liberty and hatred of slavery found scope for expression, and their preachers and teachers preached and taught what they would not have dared or felt inclined to preach or teach in liberty-loving Connecticut, and the Western Reserve soon became famous for its opposition to slavery in the United States.

This feeling found ample expression in the National Congress from such men as Whittlesey, Judge Newton, Giddings, Wade, John Hutchins and Garfield from this district, and many others, and would have found the same expression from our later Representatives, E. B. Taylor and S. A. Northway, but that since their official life began we have in the United States — thank God and Abraham Lincoln — no slavery to oppose, and the Western Reserve has had her full share in bringing about that consummation.

THE PRESENT WESTERN RESERVE.

I have thus sketched a very general outline of the Western Reserve as it was. What it is at present is a matter of general knowledge. From the few scattered inhabitants of a century ago the population has increased to nearly 1,000,000, about one fifth the population of the entire State. Instead of interminable forests we have cultivated farms and fields; where stood the wigwam of the Indian and the log cabin of the settler, we have large cities and towns, and comfortable, beautiful houses and homes all over the land. The Indian, with his councils and pow-wows, has disappeared, and the white man reigns in his stead; the bear, wolf, panther, and deer have gone and in their stead are horses, cattle, sheep, and other domestic animals useful to man. The wild turkey can no more be hunted in our forests, but its successors yet remain to grace our Thanksgiving and Christmas boards. All that was primitive, savage, and wild has given way before the irresistible march of civilization and progress. The

rivers that used to wend their devious, silent way to the lake or the great river, hearing no sound save that of Nature in her various voices, now flow through verdant meadows, cultivated fields, and prosperous towns, and are alive with the hum and whirr of the wheels of busy industry. The canoe has given way to the steamboat, and instead of the Indian trail and the rough road cut through the woods and traversed by ox carts we have the railroad and the locomotive that annihilate time and space and carry us away across the continent in a week, while we eat, sleep, chat, or smoke at the rate of forty miles an hour. Instead of the Indian runner or the less fleet white messenger we have captured and harnessed the lightning to carry our messages and to enable us to talk across a continent, as with a friend face to face. The log schoolhouse, with its rough benches, puncheon floors, and primitive teachers, has disappeared, but the rudiments of education there acquired have found apt expression in the colleges, academies, and high schools, with their splendid buildings, and the less pretentious schoolhouses that dot the land and bring the means of education to our very doors in every little school district, with a corps of teachers who for learning, ability, and general fitness for their task rank high as educators and make the Western Reserve famous for the general education and enlightenment of its people. And the newspaper, that great educator, molder of public opinion, and director of events, without which no education is complete and thoroughly useful, filled with the news of the entire globe and editorials and contributed articles upon every known subject, and worthy of the best statesmen, scholars, and writers — now sends its four to forty-four pages of daily information and education to almost every fireside on the day of or the day after its publication. The primitive church — often the little log schoolhouse — with its occasional itinerant preacher, has been succeeded by the magnificent cathedral, the splendid temples, and the more modest village and country church. But the same religion and religious services that helped, comforted, and blessed the early pioneer in his far-off forest home, yet remain and are taught and held by a body of learned, cultivated, devoted, and zealous Christian preachers and teachers, whose daily life, teaching, and example

are not only an education, but an incentive to a better life; and of them, individually, it may be said, as it was of Goldsmith's Village Preacher:

> "And as a bird each fond endearment tries
> "To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies,
> "He tried each art, reproved each dull delay,
> "Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way."

Such is a very imperfect general outline of the Western Reserve of to-day, and by noting the contrast between the present conditions and those of a century ago we may form some idea of what the harvest has been and what a century of civilization and progress has brought. And here in this splendid temple, a provision of the Western Reserve of to-day, devoted to the amusement, entertainment and diversion of our people, looking back over a period of a hundred years, and contrasting the present Western Reserve with that of a century ago, those of you who believe in Him, through faith, and those who believe in His direct interposition in human affairs, and those who see Him in His manifestations, His works, and in natural laws, may all join in the grateful exclamation: "Behold what God hath wrought!"

Note. — The foregoing address was delivered by Mr. Hutchins at Warren, Ohio, April 15, 1898, at a meeting under the auspices of the "Women's Friendly Union." — E. O. R.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

OHIO STATE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL

SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR

FEBRUARY 24, 1898, TO FEBRUARY 1, 1899.

GEN. R. BRINKERHOFF, President.
E. O. RANDALL, Secretary.

COLUMBUS, O., JANUARY, 1899.

To His Excellency, Asa S. Bushnell, Governor of Ohio:

I herewith have the honor to submit the fourteenth annual report of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, covering the year February 24, 1898, to February 1, 1899.

With very great respect, I remain

Yours truly,

E. O. RANDALL, *Secretary.*

OFFICERS

FROM FEBRUARY 24, 1898, TO FEBRUARY 1, 1899.

ELECTED BY THE TRUSTEES.

Gen. Roeliff Brinkerhoff,	*President*
Rev. Wm. E. Moore, D. D., LL. D.,	*Vice-President*
Hon. S. S. Rickly,	*Treasurer*
Edwin F. Wood,	*Assistant Treasurer*
E. O. Randall, Ph. B., LL. M.,	*Secretary*
W. C. Mills, B. Sc., (H. and F.),	*Curator*

TRUSTEES.

ELECTED BY THE SOCIETY.

TERM EXPIRES IN 1899.

Hon. John Sherman,	Mansfield
Prof. G. F. Wright,	Oberlin
Rev. Wm. E. Moore,	Columbus
Hon. John B. Peaslee,	Cincinnati
Mr. A. H. Smythe,	Columbus

TERM EXPIRES IN 1900.

Hon. Elroy M. Avery,	Cleveland
Bishop B. W. Arnett,	Wilberforce
Hon. S. S. Rickly,	Columbus
Mr. G. F. Bareis,	Canal Winchester
Hon. A. R. McIntire,	Mt. Vernon

TERM EXPIRES IN 1901.

Gen. R. Brinkerhoff,	Mansfield
Hon. M. D. Follett,	Marietta
Hon. D. J. Ryan,	Columbus
Rev. H. A. Thompson,	Dayton
Mr. R. E. Hills,	Delaware

APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR.

TERMS EXPIRE AS INDICATED.

Hon. Alexander Boxwell, Red Lion, 1899; Hon. E. O. Randall, Columbus, 1899; Hon. Chas. P. Griffin, Toledo, 1900; Hon. A. Robeson, Greenville, 1900; Gen. Geo. B. Wright, Columbus, 1901; Hon. Israel Williams, Hamilton, 1901.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, February 24, 1898.

The thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Society was held at Orton Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, at 2:30 P. M., Standard time, February 24, 1898. The meeting was called to order by the President, General R. Brinkerhoff. The following members of the Society were present: —

GENERAL R. BRINKERHOFF	Mansfield, O.
DR. H. A. THOMPSON	Dayton, O.
GEORGE F. BAREIS	Canal Winchester, O.
HARLEY BARNES	Painesville, O.
J. L. OLDHAM	Reynoldsburg, O.
DR. EDWARD ORTON	Columbus, O.
CAPTAIN A. E. LEE	"
DANIEL J. RYAN	"
JUDGE JAMES H. ANDERSON	"
ROBERT S. NEIL	"
J. J. JANNEY	"
A. H. SMYTHE	"
E. F. WOOD	"
E. O. RANDALL, Secretary	"

The minutes of the previous (Twelfth) Annual Meeting (February 17, 1897), were read by the Secretary and approved.

Upon call for reports from special committees, Mr. Bareis, Chairman, made a report for the Committee on "Local Sections". This Committee had made a report at the last Annual Meeting, (February 17, 1897), which report was at that time referred back to the Committee for them to make a further report at this meeting. (The original report will be found in full on page 391, Vol. VI, of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society publications.)

Considerable discussion was indulged in concerning the feasibility of authorizing the establishment of these local or branch societies. The prevailing sentiment was to the effect, that such branch societies would not be advantageous to the work or growth of the society. It would scatter the interest,

and indeed the property, and it was finally decided to take no action at this meeting, but postpone the matter for another year.

Mr. Rutherford P. Hayes addressed the meeting in an interesting way, concerning the State Library and the advantage to both parties, of making the library of the society a permanent adjunct of the State Library, in which the books of the Society now have temporary quarters. No action was taken in this matter.

Mr. W. K. Moorehead, in a vigorous speech called attention to the manner in which some of the Archæological Societies, in the eastern states, had come into Ohio and made extensive explorations, "poaching upon our preserves," as it were — making valuable finds and carrying from our state much important material which should be ours. This had especially been done in Adams, Pickaway and Fairfield counties. This work had of course been conducted in a legitimate way, proper permission having been obtained from the property owners. But our Society, Mr. Moorehead urged, should be more enterprising and energetic in pre-empting this field and forestalling this work. Our Society should not be second to those of other states. If it was of such great importance to foreign institutions, it was of still greater value to our own Ohio Society. Mr. Moorehead also reported upon the progress of the Archæological Map of Ohio, which the Society is preparing. He had exhibited the map at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held in Detroit in August, 1897, where it had attracted much favorable comment. Rand & McNally, of Chicago, had made overtures for the publication of the same, and the authorities of the Smithsonian Institute were watching its completion, and had written our Society, that arrangements could probably be perfected, by which the Government would publish the map.

When the Annual Report of the Secretary, to the Society, was called for, Mr. Randall stated that with the indulgence of the Society, he would follow his precedent of the last two Annual Meetings, and submit as his report to this meeting, the same report he had made, in behalf of the Executive Committee, to the Governor. As the Society is one of the official departments

of the State, a report to the Governor is required each year, but there seemed to be no need of two separate reports, one to the Society and one to the Executive. The action of the Secretary in this matter was approved, and the report of the Secretary was accepted. This report had been printed and sent to the members of the Society, members of the Legislature and State Officials. Copies were here at the meeting and supplied to those present. (This report is found in full in Vol. VI, pages 389-407, Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society publications.) The Secretary also made a detailed report of the annual meeting of the Trustees which followed the annual meeting of the Society, February 17, 1897. The Secretary, in an extemporaneous way, dwelt at some length upon the various features of the work of the Society during the previous year, the appropriations, the publications, the explorations and centennial celebrations of the year just past. That the Society had done greater and better work than ever before; it had met with wider recognition, not only in this state, but throughout the country, and its publications were now sought for by the leading libraries of the United States.

The Secretary announced that the terms of the following Trustees, elected by the Society, expired at this time: General R. Brinkerhoff, Hon. M. D. Follett, Hon. Daniel J. Ryan, Rev. H. A. Thompson and Mr. R. E. Hills. Upon motion and vote the Chair was directed to appoint a committee of three, who should nominate five trustees to succeed those retiring. The Chair appointed as such committee, Messrs. Neil, Oldham and Bareis. The committee retired for consultation and in a short time returned and reported as nominees for trusteeship, for the ensuing three years (February 1898, to February, 1901): Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Hon. M. D. Follett, Hon. D. J. Ryan, Rev. H. A. Thompson and Mr. R. E. Hills. It was moved that the report of the committee be adopted, which was seconded and carried, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Society for the election of these Trustees. The Secretary so did, and the above nominees were declared duly elected.*

* On March 30, 1898, Governor Bushnell reappointed General George B. Wright, of Columbus, and Hon. Israel Williams, of Hamilton, Ohio, as Trustees, to serve until February, 1901.

Mr. Ryan suggested several methods to elicit interest in, and work from, the individual members of the Society. He thought the Society did not sufficiently utilize the personal efforts of the members. There might be some sort of a division, or classification of the lines of work, in which the Society is engaged, or should be, such as genealogy, archæology, ethnology, geography, biography, bibliography, etc., and let the President or Executive Committee appoint committees or individual members in the Society to do certain work in these lines. This proposition drew forth much discussion, and approval. It was finally moved and carried that the President, at such time as he may deem proper, appoint various committees to interest themselves in such special subjects of work as might be designated. In this connection the Secretary reminded the members that Bishop Arnett, one of our Trustees, is engaged in preparing for the Society a History of the Negro People of Ohio. Some one should prepare a volume of brief biographies of Ohio's Governors, as information concerning them is frequently called for. He would himself visit the village of Zoar as soon as possible, and get the data for an article of an historical character, as the Society has decided to disband, and a permanent record should be made of the history and peculiar phases of this community.

Mr. Wood proposed the following amendment to the Constitution: "To amend Section 1 of Article 5 to read as follows: The fiscal year of the Society shall end February 1, and the Annual Meeting shall be held at Columbus within such reasonable time thereafter, as the Executive Committee may previously determine, but not later than June 15. Due notice of the meeting shall be mailed by the Secretary to all members of the Society at least ten days before such meeting is held."

This proposed amendment caused considerable discussion. It was shown that February was a most inopportune month to hold the Annual Meeting and attempt to have a banquet or other event of a public character, as that month is crowded with celebrations, such as Lincoln's and Washington's brithdays, which are both recognized by various societies with banquets, reunions, etc. The Secretary has found it almost impossible to get distinguished speakers and even prominent members of the

Society to take part in an Annual Meeting during February. The fiscal year should end about February 1, as that is the time for the appointment by the Governor of the two Trustees for the Society, and the regular state appropriations date from February 15, therefore the fiscal year should close as proposed in the amendment, but the Annual Meeting of the Society, for the election of officers and reunion purposes, could easily be at some later and more advantageous date. The amendment was finally adopted without change.

The matter of adequate and permanent quarters for the Society was considered. The Secretary stated that it was expected that the new proposed addition to the State House, would solve this problem, either in giving ample quarters to the Society in some of the rooms which would be vacated in the present building, or in rooms which would be provided in the new building. He and the Trustees had this matter in view and would keep in touch with the building commission, in order that no opportunity in this direction be lost to the Society.

Several members were elected to the Society, and Judge Tod B. Galloway was elected a Life Member.

Instead of the usual custom being followed of appointing a committee to wait upon the Governor while the meeting is in session, and to extend to him the greetings and compliments of the Soctiey, it was decided that all the members present who could do so, should assemble at the office of the Board of State Charities, in the State Capitol, at ten o'clock the next morning (Friday, February 25), and in a body call upon the Governor.*

A vote of thanks was given to the officers of the Society, and especially to the Executive Committee and the Secretary, for their efficient work during the past year.

Upon the Secretary stating there was no further business requiring the attention of the Society, the President announced

*This call was made as agreed, some ten or fifteen of the members being present. President Brinkerhoff and Secretary Randall addressed the Governor, who in his usual happy manner, responded, complimenting the Society upon its work during the past year, and wishing it further progress, and expressing his interest in its purposes and aims and his willingness to aid it in every way that he could.

that immediately after the adjournment the Annual Meeting of the Trustees would be held in that room. The meeting adjourned at 5 o'clock P. M.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES.

The Annual Meeting of the Trustees was held at Orton Hall, O. S. U., February 24, 1898. The following Trustees were present: Messrs. Brinkerhoff, Thompson, Ryan, Bareis, Smythe and Randall.

My Ryan was made temporary Chairman and Mr. Randall temporary Secretary.

General R. Brinkerhoff was rëelected President of the Board of Trustees for the ensuing year, Rev. William E. Moore Vice-President, Mr. S. S. Rickley Treasurer, Mr. E. F. Wood Assistant Treasurer, Mr. E. O. Randall Secretary.

In addition to these officers of the Society, who are ex-officio members of the committee, the following Executive Committee was selected: Hon. D. J. Ryan, Hon. M. D. Follett, General George B. Wright, Hon. A. R. McIntire, and Messrs. George F. Bareis, R. E. Hills and A. H. Smythe.

The Secretary made a full statement of the condition of the affairs of the Society. The policy and line of work of the Society was fully discussed.

Mr. Randall made a statement concerning the office of Curator, to the effect, that Mr. Moorehead, as they well knew, had resigned on the 6th of August, 1897, when Mr. Clarence Loveberry was elected Curator to fill the vacancy, but Mr. Loveberry had been appointed by the U. S. Government, an Inspector in the Department of Veterinary Science, (Ferbuary 4, 1898), and had gone to Minneapolis, under leave of absence granted by the Trustees. It was decided that the leave of absence and his continuation in office could only extend to the end of the year, that is, to the time of this meeting. It was thought best not to take any action in regard to the curatorship at this time, as the Secretary informed the Trustees that Mr. Raymond Osborn and Miss Lucy Allen were looking after the interests of the Society in the Museum in the absence of a Curator.

The matter of the compensation to the active officers, and other agents of the Society, found necessary to be employed, was taken up and properly disposed of. The Secretary was authorized to draw vouchers upon the Treasurer in favor of persons to whom the Society was indebted.

Upon motion it was decided to hold the monthly meetings of the Executive Committee on the first Wednesday of each mouth at 3:30 P. M., Standard time, in the rooms of the Public Library, Columbus, Ohio.

Meeting adjourned.

PUBLIC MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

On the evening of March 3, 1898, at 8 o'clock P. M., the Society held a public meeting in the House of Representatives, Capitol Building, Columbus. This meeting took the place of the customary annual banquet. The public was invited as well as the members of the Legislature. The hall was crowded, every seat being taken and many standing in the lobbies. Gen. R. Brinkerhoff presided and delivered a brief and stirring address on the purposes of the Society and the work it has accomplished. Professor G. F. Wright of Oberlin University and a Trustee of the Society, made a scholarly presentation of the extent and value of the archæological remains in Ohio.

Dr. Edward Orton of the Ohio State University and State Geologist, read a most interesting paper on Fort Ancient, its construction and what it taught concerning the civilization existing when it was built.

Dr. James H. Canfield, President Ohio State University, delivered an impressive and eloquent address on the value of the study of local history, particularly emphasizing the importance of the work of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society.

The meeting was one of the best the Society ever had. The archæologic map of Ohio and the map of Fort Ancient were exhibited and evidenced the scholarly and scientific work now being accomplished by the Society. A full report of the ad-

dresses on this occasion will be found in Volume VI, Society's Publications, pages 408-441.

WORK OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

More than in any previous year has the Executive Committee been faithful, efficient and indefatiguable in its supervision of the affairs of the Society. According to the plan of organization and management of the Society, the Executive Committee is the direct controlling authority. Its members have taken a deep interest in the purposes and work of the Society. Every detail of the affairs of the Society has been directed by the Executive Committee or at least been carefully scrutinized by it. Its members have always promptly and zealously responded to any call made by the Secretary. The Executive Committee as a whole has held twelve regular or formal meetings on the following dates in 1898:

February 15, March 3, April 6, May 4, June 1, June 23, August 12, September 19, October 4, November 2, December 7, and January 10 (1899).

Special and separate meetings were held by the Finance Committee, Committee on Fort Ancient and Committee on Library and Museum. The Committee on Fort Ancient, accompanied by the Secretary, made two trips during the year to Fort Ancient, viz., on August 5 and on September 24. The reports of these sub-committees speak for themselves.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

E. O. Randall, Secretary,

DEAR SIR: — The Committee on Museum and Library have been fairly active during the past year. Soon after Dr. W. C. Mills became Curator of the Society and while "checking up" the specimens the lack of a proper system of classifying, arranging and cataloguing again appeared, as it had often done before. Every plan contemplated seemed to have an "if," and no one was satisfied that we had as yet the plan to fit our particular needs. After a thorough canvass of the matter, our Committee agreed to send Dr. Mills to Chicago to visit the Field Columbian Museum. The Executive Committee of the Society heartily approved this plan. Dr. Mills reports having been very cordially received, and was shown many special favors and opportunities to study their system. While we may not be able to carry out their method, in detail,

for some time to come, a broad foundation will be laid, so that whatever modifications may be made to meet our particular needs will grow out of this system. The Curator and Committee are a unit in their desire to have full, complete and reliable "data" with each specimen. The large and increasing number of persons who visit the Museum for the purpose of study is not only very gratifying, but also suggestive that the interest in the science of archæology is rapidly increasing. The catalog shows only a net increase of 458 specimens; there has been a much more substantial increase, however.

Mr. Secretary, we want to felicitate ourselves on the good fortune that awaits us: for already we look forward with anticipation of great pleasure and benefit to the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which is to be held in Columbus during the coming summer. We suggest, as highly appropriate, that Section "H" (Archæology) be invited to conduct their meetings, surrounded by the inspiration and spirit which hover over the Museum and in the building which bears the name of their honored President and our illustrious and learned friend.

The Library still has a temporary home in the State Library Rooms.

We are "casting longing glances" towards the addition to the Capitol Building, if perchance we shall have suitable and permanent quarters so centrally and favorably located. We hope those having the disposition and assignment of the space will consider the importance of the work of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and that we shall be given proper rooms.

Very respectfully submitted,

GEO. F. BAREIS, Chairman.

December 30, 1898.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FORT ANCIENT.

E. O. Randall, Secretary,

DEAR SIR: — The Sub-committee on Fort Ancient have, during the past year, made several visits to the Fort to direct and supervise the work done, and to devise the best means to put and keep the grounds and the embankments in good order, so as to restore them, as far as possible, to the condition in which they were when the Society assumed possession at the direction of the Legislature.

The addition made by the purchase of the Cowden Tract has added largely to their care and labor. They are glad to say that the work done by Mr. Cowen under their direction has been well done and to the entire satisfaction of your Committee. The dams heretofore made in the washes have been kept up and reinforced where necessary, so that the washes are stopped, so that with care no further damage from water is to be apprehended.

The work done in the last three years in clearing away and cutting the weeds, briars and bushes has been continued and extended to the

new purchase, where, however, much remains to be done, both on the inside and outside of the walls. Pursuing the present plan from year to year, we hope at a moderate cost to present a beautiful park with green grass everywhere, and majestic trees affording pleasant shade, making an inviting resort for the citizens of our own and other States.

Already it is attracting greater numbers, year by year, of the lovers of Nature and the students of Archæology, many of them from other States.

Your Committee have entered on the work of repairing the buildings, which are out of repair, and of making an addition to the present dwelling, so as to make it comfortable for the tenant and caretaker, and to furnish a room for the use of the trustees and the accommodation of visitors. This work they expect to have completed by the opening of the summer.

Respectfully submitted,

WM. E. MOORE, *Chairman.*

December 30, 1898.

REPORT OF THE CURATOR.

E. O. Randall, Secretary,

DEAR SIR: — I take pleasure in reporting that the year's work, both in the Museum and Field, has been successful, and that increased interest in archæological and historical matters is apparent throughout the State. During the last few months I have received numerous letters from various parts of the State, asking information concerning specimens found in their respective neighborhoods, and for books on Archæology, and especially those of our own publication.

On July 1 we commenced our field work, which was carried on in Logan, Licking and Knox Counties, exploring in all fifteen mounds and seven gravel burials. Of the mounds explored the large Butcher Mound in northern Licking County, and the Larimore Group in southern Knox County were the most interesting.

Mound No. 5 of the Larimore Group contained five headless skeletons, all buried together. These were removed in a good state of preservation, several of the bones having been pierced with arrow points, parts of which still remained firmly imbedded in the bone.

From September 1 to December 7 my time has been occupied at the Museum in making an inventory of the specimens in the Society's collection. The following is the summary of the Inventory of Museum furnished December 7, 1898:

Gr. Axes	150
Celts	396
Hammers, stone	111
Hammers, gr	40
Pottery, broken	867
Pottery, whole	19

Casts	137
Copper	31
Miscellaneous specimens	832
Gouges	3
Shell pieces and ornaments	88
Bone implements and ornaments	190
Bones of man	1,730
Pestles	71
Charts and maps	45
Arrow points	6,697
Roller Pestles	8
Crania	14
Ceremonials	62
Pipes	20
Hematites	59
Photographs	720
Slate and stone tubes	10
Modern Ind. and Hist	167
Discoidals	4
Mica	19
Mortars	9
Ornaments	146
Spear points	827
Miscellaneous flint	2,896
Specimens, miscellaneous	1,348
Total	18,336
Thrailkill Collection (loan)	1,063
Mills Collection (loan)	191
Skinner Collection (loan)	389
Field work, 1898	890
Specimens recorded wrong	156
Numbers without specimens	44
Specimens duplicated	25
Specimens not numbered	47
Total Numbers	20,869
Missing	1,348
Total	19,521
Specimens not numbered	47
Total	19,568

During the year several collections have been donated to the Museum. The following presented specimens: Mr. Chas. McDarrh, Urbana, Ohio; Mr. F. N. Draper, West Liberty, Ohio; Mr. M. E.

Burdett, DeGraff, Ohio; Mr. A. B. Coover, Roxabell, Ohio; Frank N. Beebe, Columbus, Ohio; Mr. B. B. Herrick, Wellington, Ohio; Mr. T. S. Cleveland, Calais, Ohio; Mr. Frank Larimore, Locke, Ohio, and Mr. W. P. Parks, Utica, Ohio.

Those who have loaned collections: Mr. M. E. Thrailkill, Columbus, Ohio; Mr. C. G. Night, Columbus; Mr. Nat. S. Green, Camp Dennison, Ohio, and Miss Maggie Skinner, Kalida, Ohio.

The work on the Archæological Map has not been neglected, and I have been able to add ninety earthworks and burials while in the field and about the same number by correspondence.

One of the most interesting and valuable additions to the Museum is the copper find from Fort Ancient. It consists of fifty-four copper pieces representing breast-plates, celts, button-shaped ornaments and bracelets, each individual piece being hammered together, evidently to destroy its identity. Some of the plates, if straightened out, would be 8½ inches long by 4 inches wide; but they are bent and hammered together, so they represent an irregular mass 2 in. x 1 in. x ½ in. With the copper pieces were found five broken pieces of slate ornaments and thirty-four pieces of galenite, and over all was placed about one hundred sheets of mica, and all buried within the space of 18 in. x 24 in. and one foot deep. They were found by Mr. Warren Cowen, custodian of the Fort, and Mr. Wolfe on the farm of the latter, which adjoins the property of the State known as Fort Ancient, and were procured for the Society by Mr. Geo. F. Bareis, Chairman of the Committee on Museum.

I beg to thank the officers and trustees for their cooperation.

Respectfully submitted,

Wm. C. Mills, *Curator.*

December 30, 1898.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE SOCIETY.

The Society issued in August (1898) the Sixth Volume of its documents and papers. This volume comprises some four hundred and fifty pages and some twenty-five illustrations. It is one of the most valuable and interesting volumes yet issued by the Society. Its scope is best indicated by the table of contents, which is as follows:

Colonel William Crawford. By James H. Anderson.

The History of Popular Education in the Western Reserve. By B. A. Hinsdale.

Franklinton — An Historical Address. By General John Beatty.

The Ohio Indians. By Col. E. L. Taylor.

The Pathfinders of Jefferson County. By W. H. Hunter.

The Centennial of Jefferson County. Compiled by W. H. Hunter.

Stanton Day — Ohio Men and Ideas. By Prof. W. H. Venable, LL. D.

Edwin M. Stanton. By Gen. Daniel Sickles.

A Tribute to Stanton. By Hon. J. H. Trainer.

Pioneer Day. Addresses by Hon. J. J. Gill, John M. Cook, Esq., Hon. Webster Davis.

Military Day. Address by Gen. S. H. Hurst.

Addenda to the Pathfinders of Jefferson County.

Thirteenth Annual Report of the Society to the Governor. By E. O. Randall, Secretary.

Addresses before the Ohio State Archæological Society — General Brinkerhoff, Professor Wright, Professor Orton, President Canfield.

The demand by societies and libraries of the country for the publications of the Society has been steadily increasing. Two editions of volumes I, II and III were published previous to this year (1898). The 73rd General Assembly in the Appropriation Bill, (April, 1898) appropriated $3,000.00 to the Society;

"For re-printing volume I, II, III, IV, and V, of the Society's annual publications; each member of the 73rd General Assembly to be provided with ten copies of each volume, to be delivered under the direction of the Secretary of State." (See page 243, Vol. 93, Ohio Laws.)

"It was supposed at the time that the appropriation was mude that the distribution of these books could be made by the Secretary of State under the provisions of Section 70, Ohio Revised Statutes. Indeed that was the opinion of the members of the Finance Committee. But it was decided that the distribution of these books did not come within the purview of that law, and the Secretary of State had no means at his disposal covering this matter. While no provision was made in the appropriation to the Society for the expense of delivering these books, the officers of the Society decided to assume this expense from their general fund at the sacrifice of other needs of the Society, believing that the Legislature will, in its next appropriation, make good this amount.

As one of the objects of this appropriation on the part of the Legislature was to secure sets of these publications for distribution among the school and public libraries, it is expected that the members will donate more or less of their sets to libraries in their neighborhood or district." (Circular letter from Secretary Randall to members of the Legislature.)

The society has innumerable requests from societies, libraries and individuals for these books but is, of course, unable to supply the demand. It is evident, however, that these volumes take high rank as historical matter among the libraries and students of American history. Two Quarterlies — that for Octo-

ber, 1898, and January, 1899, are issued, and will appear as Volume VII. Certainly no State in the Union is officially publishing more creditable or valuable historical works.

ZOAR AND GNADDENHUTTEN.

On September 7, 1898, the secretary visited Gnaddenhutten and Zoar to obtain such material as would be thought of value to the society concerning those historical towns. A stay of several days was made at Zoar and much valuable data obtained relating to the history and working of the Separatist community which has since dissolved. A full report concerning the Zoar society will appear in the forthcoming volume of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

On September 29 occurred the centennial anniversary of the settlement of Gnaddenhutten by John Heckewelder and the Moravian Mission. Our society was invited to participate in that event. Vice President Wm. E. Moore, Curator W. C. Mills, Assistant Treasurer E. F. Ward, and Secretary E. O. Randall represented the society and took part in the public exercises of the day. A full account of this celebration will be published in our society publications.

WORK OF THE CURATOR.

On August 7, 1897, Mr. Warren K. Moorehead resigned the office of Curator and Mr. Clarence Lovebery, who had been acting as assistant, was promoted to the Curatorship, but after a few months of effective service on February 8, 1898, he was given a leave of absence, having been appointed to a position as Inspector in the Government department of Veterinary Science, with headquarters at St. Paul, Minn. Miss Lucy Allen took charge of the Museum and performed the duties of Curator until June 1, 1898, when the Executive Committee elected Mr. W. C. Mills, Curator. Mr. Mills is a graduate of the Ohio State University, and has had considerable experience in the line of Archaealogical work, and thus far has most satisfactorily filled the position. He has visited Chicago and Cincinnati in the interest of the society, studying the methods persued by the

Archaeological Museums in those cities. He has inaugurated some marked improvements in the care and management of the society's museum, and has made several trips to various parts of the State inspecting localities of archaelogical interest.

LECTURES.

On the evening of March 12, 1898, Colonel Robert B. Stanton, the eminent engineer and archæologist, lectured under the auspices of the society in the auditorium of the O. S. University on the "Cliff Dwellers of the Southwest." The lecture was illustrated by fine stereopticon views, and he was listened to by an audience of students and citizens that completely filled the hall.

On the evening of April 11, 1898, at the same place, Colonel S. K. Donavin delivered a most interesting lecture on the Insurrection of John Brown at Harper's Ferry and his trial and execution of which Mr. Donavin was an eye witness. It is expected Mr. Donavin will contribute an article on this subject for the publications of the society.

QUARTERS FOR THE SOCIETY.

The secretary can only repeat more earnestly than ever what he has frequently before said concerning the needs of the society for permanent and ample quarters. Although the society is accomplishing better and larger works each year, it is more and more hampered by the lack of adaquate quarters. It is sincerely hoped the new state house building, now in process of erection, will provide for this long desired want of the society.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, the secretary wishes to express the appreciation of the society for the interest taken in and aid rendered us by Governor Bushnell; the members of the Seventy-third General Assembly and all the State officials with whom the society has come in contact; also the daily papers of Columbus and other cities for their generous treatment, and to *The Review of Reviews*, *The Ohio Educational Monthly*, *The Bible Teacher for*

Sunday Schools, and other magazines and periodicals. Letters acknowledging our reports and commending the work of our archaeological department have been received from leading institutions throughout the country, notably the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C.; American Museum of Natural History, New York; Field Columbian Museum, Chicago; Archaeological Museum, Toronto, Canada; Museum of Natural History, Cambridge, Mass.; University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, University of Cincinnati, etc., etc.

Personally, the secretary wishes to thank the trustees and especially the executive committee for their uniform kindness and courtesy to him. Respectfully submitted,

E. O. RANDALL,

Columbus, Ohio, February, 1899. Secretary.

TREASURER'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR ENDING FEBRUARY 1, 1899.

RECEIPTS.

On hand February 1, 1898	$549 64	
Membership dues	136 00	
Books sold	19 00	
Interest on Permanent Fund	70 93	
From State Treasurer—		
For care of Fort Ancient	119 75	
For reprinting publication	3,000 00	
For current expenses	2,303 31	
For publications	963 11	
For field work and Museum	490 55	
		$7,652 29

DISBURSEMENTS.

Reprinting Volumes I-VI	$3,000 00	
Boxing and shipping above	143 35	
Publications	1,443 20	
Job printing	72 71	
Care of Fort Ancient	119 75	
"Field work and Museum	490 55	
Expense of Trustees	90 50	
Salaries (3)	1,280 00	
Permanent Fund	95 93	
Postage	95 79	
Office expense	100 00	
Lectures at O. S. U	31 15	
Annual meeting, 1898	40 75	
Freight and express	22 43	
Office furniture	48 45	
Stationery and supplies	12 32	
Sundry expenses	23 14	
Balance on hand February 1, 1899	542 27	
		$7,652 29

Respectfully submitted,

S. S. RICKLY, *Treasurer.*

OHIO
Archaeological and Historical
PUBLICATIONS.

THE GNADENHUETTEN CENTENNIAL.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1798.

One hundred years ago, the Rev. John Heckewelder moved into the "First House," which he and his helpers built "on the east bank of the Muskingum (Tuscarawas) River," where he founded Gnadenhuetten as a Moravian Church settlement of whites.

To commemorate the Centennial Anniversary of its founding, Gnadenhuetten was visited by a concourse of seven thousand men, women and children. This estimate of the number in attendance is by the Rev. Dr. Hunter, of the Uhrichsville Presbyterian Church, who is considered a very competent judge of crowds in the Tuscarawas Valley, of which he has been a long time resident. The larger part of the concourse in attendance came from the cities and villages and farms of the valley; many came "from all over" the State of Ohio; visitors were here from Bethlehem, Pa.; from New York City and Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., and Pittsburg. From the neighboring states to the westward, as far at least as Minnesota, Gnadenhuetten sons and daughters were in happy attendance.

At the morning service of the first Sunday in the new year, January 2, 1898, the pastor, the Rev. Wm. H. Rice, called the attention of the congregation to the fact that this was the Centennial year of Gnadenhuetten's settlement. He read from the

time-browned pages of the old Diary, in confirmation of his statements. A deep and general interest was at once aroused.

At the annual Church Council held next day, on Monday, January 3, a resolution was offered, and after discussion, was adopted with unanimity, appointing the Boards of Elders (Rev. Wm. H. Rice, Frank Peter, H. A. Miksch, Lewis S. Winsch and Wm. T. Van Vleck) and of Trustees (Messrs. John Ulrich, Charles G. Gutensohn, Fred. J. Warner, George F. Stocker and G. Victor Heck) a Centennial Celebration Committee, and directing this committee to take such measures as would secure a proper observance of Centennial Day, September 29. This committee immediately organized by the selection of the Rev. Wm. H. Rice, as President; Frank Peter, Secretary, and Charles G. Gutensohn, Treasurer.

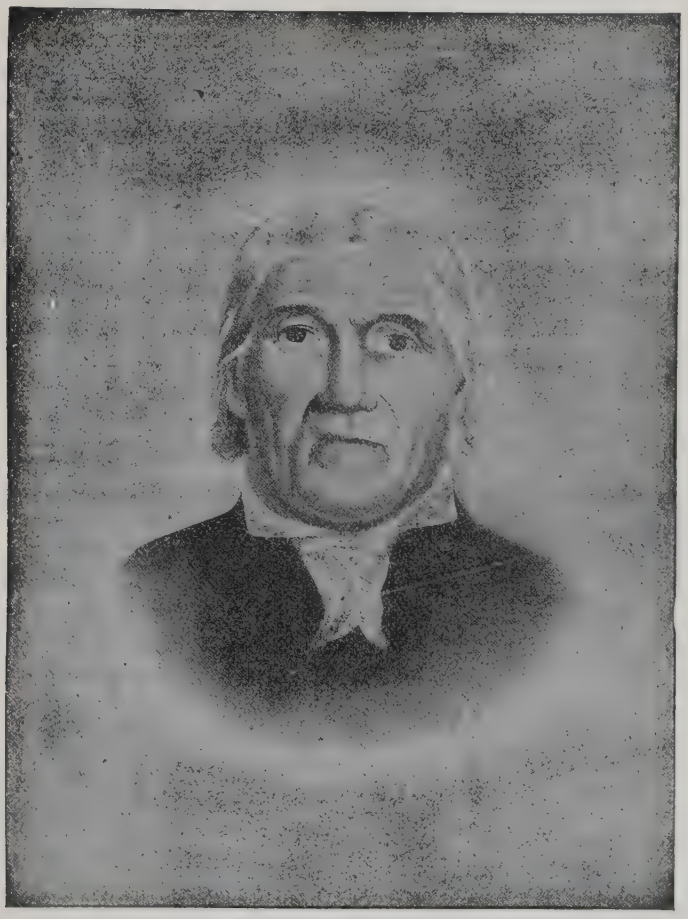
The necessary preparatory work was duly apportioned to sub-committees on Finance, Program, Historical Exhibit, Historical Tablets and Procession and Music. Solomon Stocker was appointed chairman of the Committee on Entertainment. The Finance Committee secured the co-operation, so essential, of the sisters of the congregation. Under the leadership of the Ladies' Missionary and Aid Society, a Committee on Refreshments was appointed with Mrs. Lewis S. Winsch as President, and Mrs. Wm. H. Rice as Secretary.

As Centennial Day came nearer, the stress of preparatory work became more acute. The intervening time seemed all too short. But above all other matters for anxious consideration arose the question of the weather — what kind of a day?

So much seemed to be at stake. There was much importunate prayer. And how gracious was the dear Lord's answer.

Never did God's sun illumine a more perfect autumn day, than our Centennial Thursday. It was the dear Lord's smile of approval, His benediction upon all our anxious labors of preparation. When John Heckewelder, with William Edwards as his companion, and the five Indian brethren, brought their wearisome journey, overland from Fairfield Mission, Canada, to a halt, June 18, 1798, having swum their horses across the deep current of the Muskingum River, to its eastern bank, near the site of old Gnadenhuetten — he writes: ["Es war uns etwas

sehr Angenehmes und wir hielten es als ein gutes Omen dass so viele Vögel auf den umstehenden Bäumen ihre Stimmen fröhlich hören liessen, als freueten sie sich über unsere Ankunft. Die



REV. JOHN HECKEWELDER.

Hütte die wir vor einem Jahr gebaut stund unversehrt. Bei dem Eintritt in dieselbe sahen wir bald nach den Tages-Texten."]

"It was very pleasant and we held it to be a good omen, that so many birds, in the branches of the surrounding trees, lifted up

their voices and sang sweetly, as if to express their gladness at our coming. The cabin, which we built last year, was still standing as we left it. As soon as we entered it, we looked up the texts for the day, Deut. 28: 8 and 1 Cor. 3: 8, 9." Our beautiful Centennial Day — we welcomed it as "a good omen," in 1898.

The first service was the early prayer-meeting, at 6 o'clock, led by Lovine Miksch, the esteemed President of our Y. P. S. Christian Endeavor. Although the attendance was not large, the service was one of blessed interest. It was the beginning of our happy festival with a "Quiet Hour" of praise and covenanting, before the Lord.

On the arrival of the special trains, on the Pan Handle Railway — one from as far to the eastward as Steubenville, connecting at Uhrichsville with the railway and trolley trains from as far north as Cleveland, another from the westward as far as Newark — at 9 o'clock, the procession under the marshalship of our Mayor, Lewis S. Winsch, headed by the Amphion Band of Uhrichsville, and followed immediately by the pupils and teachers of the High School, under direction of the superintendent, Professor Oliver J. Luethi, marched to the site of Old Gnadenhuetten, adjoining our present Cemetery.

The first halt (we quote the very accurate report of the *Tuscarawas Evening Chronicle*, of September 30) was made on the river bank, at the old Canoe Ferry-landing. Here two wooded markers had been planted by the committee, inscribed, one, "The Old Canoe Ferry," and the other with a finger pointing to the "Cornfields of the Christian Indians."

At this point, Master Harry Demuth (a son of Lewis Demuth, deceased, one of the numerous descendants of the Demuth family of early pioneers) delivered an address upon the cornfields just across the river, where the Christian Indians were arrested that dark day in March, 1782, by their bloodthirsty white captors who then brought them back across the river, to the old Gnadenhuetten on this bank and on the following day, Friday, March 8, massacred them in cold blood.

The procession next entered the Cemetery and halted, under the thick shade of the tall trees, at the large grassy mound which marks the burial place of the victims of the massacre of 1782.

Here Miss Esther Eggenberg delivered an address, a selection from her graduating address at our High School commencement in June — referring to the massacre. Miss Lucy Stocker then unveiled the marble tablet, "Burial Place of the Remains of the Indian Martyrs 1782-1799." Both of these young ladies are great-grandchildren of David Peter. Both before and after these ceremonies, verses from the hymn "Nearer, my God, to Thee," were sung, accompanied by the band. At the "Mission House" mound, where the procession halted next, the Rev. Calvin R. Kinsey spoke, and Miss Bessie Peter, a great-granddaughter of David Peter (who came to Gnadenhuetten in 1799), unveiled the marble tablet, "Site of the Mission House, 1772-1782."

At the Monument, the teacher of the Primary Department of the Town School, Miss Orpah Simmers, one of the descendants of one of the earliest settlers from Eastern Pennsylvania, made the following brief address:

"Here stands the Monument which records the bloodiest day in the history of Ohio.

But it is a Monument which records the triumph of Indian Christians who here met their death with Christian heroism and resignation. They sang sweet songs of our Zion, in the bitter hour of their cruel dying. They died in the peace and in the joy of Christ their Saviour.

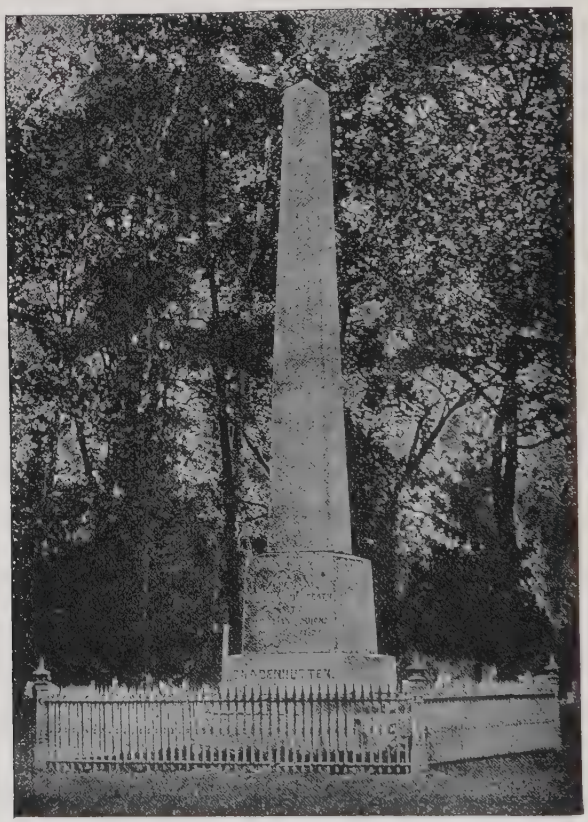
> The Savior's blood and righteousness
> Their beauty was and glorious dress;
> Thus well-arrayed they did not fear
> In Jesus' presence to appear.

Immediately at the conclusion of this address the great concourse joined in singing, "The Saviour's Blood and Righteousness."*

In one of the hollow places, under the trees, near the Monument, the aged and beloved Bishop Van Vleck, who has labored many years in the Tuscarawas Valley, took his position and spoke, briefly but impressively, upon the scenes enacted in the Cooper Shop on the day of the massacre, when the blood of the many victims trickled down into the cellar upon two lads who

* A full account of the Moravian Massacre will be found in Vol. III, p. 276, Ohio Archaelogical and Historical Publications.— E. O. R.

there lay concealed. Amid impressive silence, little Lena Miksch, great-granddaughter of the late Isaac Blickensderfer, unveiled the marble tablet, "Site of the Cooper Shop, 1782." The concourse of people united in singing, "Jesus, Lover of My Soul," amid suppressed tears.



GNADENHÜTTEN, OHIO.

MONUMENT IN MEMORY OF THE CHRISTIAN INDIANS.

The procession now returned from the site of Old Gnadenhuetten (founded in 1772 and destroyed in 1782), and proceeded to the site of the later Gnadenhuetten (founded in 1798), where the first house was built one hundred years ago. On the way along what is now Cherry street the procession halted at the fac-

simile representation of the log cabin which Heckewelder built in 1797, when he was surveying here. In '98 he built the First House. But other settlers coming from Pennsylvania the following year, he gave them the use of his new house, and moved back into his log cabin. In his Diary, Heckewelder says: "When Brother and Sister Oppelt leave us for Fairfield, Canada, Brother and Sister Jungman will have the use, in addition to their present quarters, of the First House. I shall continue to make my quarters in the log cabin, with a shed roof, made of the bark of trees, until I can build a better house." The Rev. W. H. Rice, who addressed the great concourse of people, in German and in English, from the roof of the cabin, brought out this incident as illustrative of a noble trait in the character of the unselfish Heckewelder.

Proceeding to the near-by site of the First House, at the southwest corner of Main and Cherry streets, the procession, headed by the Amphion Brass Band, came to a halt around the granite marker, which had been set in place the day before. An immense concourse of people had gathered here in anticipation of the unveiling ceremonies. James Francis Rice, of New York City, son of the Gnadenhuetten pastor, a grandson of Ann Salome Heckewelder Rice (the founder's second daughter), spoke briefly as follows:

"One hundred years ago, on the 29th of September, 1798, the Rev. John Heckewelder moved into the First House of Gnadenhuetten. He and his helpers built it upon this spot, 'on the east bank of the Muskingum River,' now called the Tuscarawas. John Heckewelder and William Edwards and their five Indian brethren reached Gnadenhuetten on June 18, 1798, after a very difficult and fatiguing journey through the wilderness of Upper Canada.

"The daily words for the day of the arrival were, from the Old Testament, Deuteronomy 28: 8, 'The Lord shall command the blessing upon thee, in all that thou settest thy hand unto;' from the New Testament, 1 Corinthians 3: 8, 9, 'Every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labor: for we are laborers together with God.'

"We are here to commemorate the fact that the Lord did

command His blessing upon the Founder of Gnadenhuetten, John Heckewelder, when he and his helpers laid the foundation of this settlement one hundred years ago.

"We cherish the blessed memory of a man whose life marked him as a co-laborer with God, a fellow-helper of his brethren. God bless the name and labors of John Heckewelder, this Centennial Day. God make of us successful co-laborers with Him, and fellow-helpers of the Brethren."

Miss Helen Kinsey, daughter of the Rev. Calvin R. Kinsey, of Port Washington Moravian Church, a great-granddaughter of Susan Heckewelder Lukenbach, (the Founder's third and youngest daughter) now unveiled the granite marker, which bears this inscription upon a polished panel, "Site of First House Built by John Heckewelder, 1898, September 29, 1798."

A wooden marker on the lot just across the street, at the southeast corner of Main and Cherry Street, marks the site of the first store, put in charge of David Peter, in 1799. Mayor Lewis S. Winsch, a grandson of David Peter, was the speaker at this point. He showed a pair of steel scales that had been used in the store, to weigh numberless deer and fox and wolf and other skins bought of the Indians. Little Lena Miksch, a great-great-granddaughter of David Peter, unveiled the marker.

Then the head of the procession passed to the northeast corner of the intersecting streets, to the sites of the First Parsonage, the First and Second Church buildings, all adjoining one another, on the east side of Main Street. The three brief addresses were by Rev. Wm. T. Van Vleck. The wooden marker at the site of the First Parsonage was unveiled by a little five year old laddie, Edmund Siess, a great-grandson of the late Rev. Sylvester Wolle, the honored pastor of the Gnadenhuetten church, from 1841 to 1849. The marker on the site of the First Church was unveiled by little Gladys Hamilton, a descendant of the Huebners, a family three of whose members have filled the Gnadenhuetten pastorate, and a granddaughter of 'Squire Hamilton, one of the early settlers. Clara Wheland, a descendant of the Oppelt family, the first settlers after Heckewelder, unveiled the marker at the site of the Second Church building.

The last address before proceeding to the church, was deliv-

ered by Bishop Van Vleck, at the site of the old Town Well, and the village Corn Mill, worked by hand.

Of the great concourse of people which thronged the Public Square, and all the streets and lanes of our village, only a very inconsiderable part could find place in the church, which can seat, when crowded, about 500 or 600 people. A large G. A. R. tent had been erected on the side of the Public Square, adjoining the church, for the better accomodation of all participants in the Centennial services. But it had been decided to hold at least the first part of these services in the church.

The pastor, Rev. Wm. H. Rice, presided. A fine chorus was rendered by members of the Musical Union, with inspiring effect, at the opening of the service. The Scripture Lessons, Psalm 68, and the closing part of Luke 1, were read by the Rev. Luther Timberlake, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal congregation of Gnadenhuetten. The prayer was offered by the Rev. Calvin R. Kinsey, of Port Washington. Then Bishop Van Vleck delivered the address of cordial welcome.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY REV. H. J. VAN VLECK.

Dear Friends, or rather, Brethren and Sisters: —

Pleasant — yea! — very pleasant as the duty assigned to unworthy me, is, in itself, namely to address some words of welcome to you, who have come hither from abroad, I have nevertheless reluctantly consented to fulfill it, — and why so?

In the first place, because there are here at Gnadenhuetten, younger and more competent persons to do it than I, and in the second place, because my opinion of "an address of welcome", is apparently very different from that entertained by others.

Very frequently such an address, is a long and elaborate speech, in which much is said of the character and history of the place, where it is made; and in some cases, all this may be suitable and even required; but my talk, on the present occasion, will be short, simple and not historical, as far as our town is concerned, of which we are to-day, in the good providence of God, joyfully celebrating the one hundredth anniversary.

The very nature of our present Centennial, and what we are

expecting to hear this morning, render it unnecessary for me to speak about Gnadenhuetten as it was, or as it is; but certain questions, which are, by no means unfrequently, put to me, when conducting visitors about our town, induce me to believe, that a few quotations from a pamphlet entitled "The Moravian Church", (the author of which is in our midst), may here be in place. Our denomination, which is no more exclusively, but still most numerously represented here at Gnadenhuetten, and which is, comparatively speaking, not as extensively known as some of our dear sister churches are, constitutes, throughout the world and without any divisions, — blessed be the Lord! — what is commonly called "The Moravian Church," inasmuch as a goodly number of the members of our first congregation in Germany, came from the province of Moravia in Austria, though its ancient name "Unitas Fratrum," i. e. "The Unity of Brethren," is the more appropriate one, and expresses its fraternal character.

Our Church dates its existence from the year 1457, more than four centuries ago, and from that time it has, by the grace of God, grown and flourished, though not without serious interruptions.

By the year 1517, the date of the beginning of the Lutheran Reformation, it numbered nearly two hundred thousand members.

From 1457 to 1722, i. e. 265 years, is the period of what is called the "Ancient Church of the Brethren."

In the year 1722, the beginning of a reorganization and renewal of the Church, was made by emigrants from Moravia, who cherished the "old faith." These, with others, mainly exiles for conscience sake, from various places, settled on the estates of Count Zinzendorf, and founded the town of Herrnhut in Saxony. Under the leadership of said noble and pious count and by the Lord, the Church was renewed. It received the historic Episcopate, at the same time readopting the ancient principles of government and discipline, but in a somewhat changed and modified form, suited to the then existing circumstances. The Church, under the blessing of the Lord and the leadership of Zinzendorf, in a short time, not only grew and prospered, but also extended its work to other countries and to heathen lands. In England, e. g. its activity was peculiarly blessed, and it numbered among

its converts of distinction, the illustrious John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

In 1742, the Moravians organized their first permanent congregation in America, viz.: at Bethlehem, Pa., and since that time our Church has made a history of varied activity, in many departments of church work, distinguishing itself by three general features, i. e. Missions among the Indians, Home Missions and Education.

Its missionary enterprise was particularly manifested in the last century, and its Indian Missions in the Tuscarawas Valley, founded in 1772, were the first, or among the first Churches in what is now the State of Ohio, and from them sprang the present seven Moravian churches in our said beautiful Valley. The missionaries, and particularly Zeisberger and Heckewelder, were very influential in treating with the Indian tribes, and in founding our State in 1803. The present pastor of the Moravian congregation at this place, Rev. Wm. H. Rice, being a great-grandson of the esteemed Heckewelder, quite naturally adds not a little to the interest of this present joyous occasion. — But enough of this; and it now behooves me, in the name of all the citizens of Gnadenhuetten, of whom I am one, to bid you, our friends from abroad, a most hearty welcome to our Centennial, — to our town, — to our homes, — in short, to all that we can possibly do for you, during your sojourn among us; and may this festive day be a truly enjoyable and instructive one to you and to us all!

Fain would I — but, of course, only for the time being, — have as many right hands as there are persons here, so that I might, without detention, give every one of you separately, a hearty shake of the hand; but in this instance, you will please take the will for the deed.

"Blest be the tie that binds
Our hearts in Christian love;
The fellowship of kindred minds
Is like to that above!"

The venerable speaker made use of the occasion, in the presence of many strangers, to set forth in comprehensive but succinct statement, the above outline of the history of our Moravian Church, from the beginning in Bohemia and Moravia, thus giving

THE FIRST HOUSE OF GNADENHUETTEN, SEPTEMBER 29, 1798.

a good background for the historical picture which was drawn later of the life and labors of a Moravian exile's son, in the new home of the Church in America. "Praise God from whom all blessings flow," "My country 'tis of thee!" were the praiseful songs which were sung. Rev. Dr. William E Moore, of the First Presbyterian Church of Columbus, Ohio's capital city, the Vice-President of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, one of the four delegated guests, to represent the Society at our Centennial, pronounced the benediction, after it had been announced that the Historical Discourse would be delivered in the tent, after dinner. The noon hour was at hand, and it was deemed inadvisable to prolong the services, before dinner.

The exercises were suspended to allow the big crowd to get dinner. Great preparations had been made to feed the multitude, and nobody went away hungry, unless it was his own fault.

In the afternoon as many of the audience as could find room gathered in the large tent on the "market lot." Rev. Dr. Moore, of Columbus, offered prayer. The national hymn, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," was sung by the people.

Rev. W. H. Rice, who presided, then read the following letter from President McKinley:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON,
September 26, 1898.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have received the very cordial invitation extended to me to visit the Centennial Celebration at Gnadenhuetten, Ohio, September 29, and wish to express to you, and through you to your associates of the committee, my deep regret at my inability to send an acceptance. It would give me great pleasure to be with you on this occasion, but the pressure of most important public business precludes my absence from Washington on the date named.

Please accept my hearty thanks for the compliment conveyed by this invitation, and believe me, with sincere best wishes for the complete success of your interesting celebration. Very truly yours,

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

REV. WM. H. RICE, Chairman of Centennial Committee,
Gnadenhuetten, Ohio.

At the suggestion of the Chairman three hearty cheers were given for President McKinley.

The Historical address was next delivered by Rev. William H. Rice, his subject being "Heckewelder." It was replete with

facts of historical interest and value and it is impossible to do it justice in this article. This address is given in full beginning on page 314 of this volume.

The Historical address held the undivided attention of the vast audience until its close, and the speaker concluded amid great applause.

Rev. Rice said that to-day was doubly interesting to him because it was the 90th anniversary of the wedding of his grandmother, Salome Heckewelder, who was married to Joseph Rice in Gnadenhuetten September 29, 1808.

Rev. Dr. Moore, of Columbus, was introduced and made a brief and interesting address, touching on archæological and historical matters.

Prof. E. O. Randall, Secretary of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, gave a witty talk which abounded with good stories. He closed with an appeal for posterity, in which he said he was interested, for he said he had three of them at his home.

Rev. W. H. Romig, of Gracehill, Iowa, formerly pastor of the Uhrichsville Moravian church, himself a member of the pioneer family of the name, was introduced. He spoke earnestly and effectively. He said there were 102,000 Buckeyes in Iowa, many of whom had wished to attend this celebration. He paid a tribute to the early settlers, and remarked that people here do not fully appreciate the beauty and grandeur of the Tuscarawas Valley. He closed with a fervent religious exhortation.

At the suggestion of the Chairman the Centennial greeting of the assembled thousands were sent to his venerable aunt, Mrs. M. A. Rice Herman, a lady in her 89th year, residing in Philadelphia, Pa., the eldest grandchild of the Rev. John Heckewelder, who spent many hours as a child in her grandfather's study, when he was engaged in writing his books; and to the two grandsons, Messrs. Henry B. Luckenbach and J. Edward Luckenbach, of Bethlehem, Pa., who are the present surviving sons of Susan Heckewelder Luckenbach, the third and youngest daughter.

Rev. John Peter Gutensohn, of Minnesota, spoke in German and English, and was frequently applauded. Rev. Luther Tim-

berlake was introduced as a genuine Methodist and one of six brothers who served in the Union Army. Rev. Timberlake said he was one of seven brothers, six of whom had been in the army and three had never returned, having lost their lives. He told of the part some ministers of the Methodist persuasion had taken in the early history of Ohio. He said when people were doubting whether Gnadenhuetten could feed all the multitude on this centennial occasion, he told them that if they ran out of everything else they could furnish a large well seasoned dish of *Rice,* and as soon as the hearers understood the pun they laughed uproariously. Rev. Timberlake touched briefly on the spread of Methodism in this part of the country. His was a good talk. At the close "Blest be the tie that binds," was sung. Prof. Duff, of Scio College, and Amadeus Peter (of Washington, D. C.), were called, but did not respond. Capt. John D. Cunning was called and responded in a few words of congratulation. The long meter doxology was sung, and Rev. Adam Zimmerman, of Shanesville, Ohio, delivered the benediction, and thus the special exercises commemorative of the forming of the town were at an end.

One letter from President McKinley was not read. It was addressed to Bishop Van Vleck and expressed in the most cordial way the President's thanks for the personal invitation extended himself and Mrs. McKinley by the Bishop, to attend the Centennial. At the very earliest, the President was able to leave the executive mansion by September 29th, and this would not allow him to reach Gnadenhuetten in time.

The Centennial Historical Exhibit in the High School building is worthy of an extended article by itself, but we find it impossible to do more than mention it. Three exhibits that were of special interest were loaned by A. D. Romig. The entire collection was large, and it is a pity that it could not be kept permanently in the town. Messrs. Allen Augustas Miksch and Wm. T. Van Vleck are to be specially credited with having deserved well of their fellow-townsfolk for their efforts in securing such a successful Exhibit.

After a day of great enjoyment, of much instructive and helpful influences, the big crowd gradually dispersed. For hours on every road leading out of the village was seen a procession of

vehicles bearing the people homeward. Two long special trains, one to westward and one to eastward, carried crowds to their homes, leaving the station at 6 o'clock.

Two bands — the Amphion, of Uhrichsville, and the Gilmore band — furnished the music.

THE CENTENNIAL CONCERT.

In the evening the Musical Union gave a cantata, "David, the Shepherd Boy." This was the largest work the Musical Union has undertaken, but the work was creditably done. Every seat in the house was sold. The satisfaction of the audience was shown by enthusiastic applause. L. V. Busche, as David; Geo. Robinson, as Saul; F. C. Winsch, as Samuel; R. L. Frazier, as Jesse and Jonathan, were among the favorites. Miss Ada Ginther, as Abigail; Miss Mary Gutensohn, as Michal; Miss Gertrude Eggenberg, as the aged Jew's daughter, were also applauded. Others won special favor. In fact the whole performance was fine. Not another town of Gnadenhuetten's size within our knowledge could do as well. The chorus work was splendid. The concert was an unqualified success and was a credit to its conductor, Mr. H. W. Luethi. — *Evening Chronicle,* September 30, 1898.

CENTENNIAL DAY NOTES.

It was a Moravian Centennial, which drew Moravians and many others to this historic town. The pastoral Brethren Hartman of Fry's Valley and Paul M. Greider of Sharon were with us, as were many of the Moravian Membership of Uhrichsville, Maple Grove, Sharon, Fry's Valley, Port Washington and Canal Dover.

Many happy meetings and reunions of friends and kindred who had not seen one another for a longer or shorter period, are to be noted.

Such an orderly crowd of Christian gentlemen and gentlewomen, so entirely free from all coarseness and vulgarity (we do not mention drunkenness, for that is unknown hereabout, in this town and township without a saloon, or any other legal traffic in intoxicants) has rarely been seen.

The Centennial Button, bearing the legend "Gnadenhuetten

Centennial, 1898 — Sept. 29 — 1798, with a picture of Rev. John Heckewelder — do you wonder the school teachers and children were glad when they could wear it? And children of a larger growth were glad for the Centennial Button. It is a beautiful keepsake.

The Railway Companies ran three special trains from the northward, eastward and westward, without asking any preliminary pecuniary guarantee from our Centennial Committee. This, we are assured, was never done before, in the Valley. So much for the reputation of the "Tents of Grace" in connection with any historic celebration.

The ivy which was so tastefully entwined around the frame of the large Centennial picture of John Heckewelder, in the recess of the pulpit of our church, was from a stalk at the Walter homestead, grown from a spray of the ivy which covers the one side of the Whitefield House at Nazareth, Pa. That stalk is itself from a spray of the stalk which is still growing on the north side of the York, (Pa.) Moravian Church. This latter stalk was originally brought from Zauchtenthal, in the Kuhlaendl, in Old Moravia, by Rev. Wm. H. Rice, when he visited the home of his Moravian ancestors, the Heckewelders and the Nitschmanns immediately after the General Synod of 1869 at Herrnhut in Saxony, Germany. There was a beautiful fitness in thus decorating the Heckewelder Centennial Portrait with ivy from the home-land.

The two books "David Zeisberger and his Brown Brethren" and "Moravian Missions in Ohio," were on sale, on Centennial-Day. The latter is by our friend and brother Francis C. Huebner, Esq., of Washington, D. C., and is for substance the Centennial Lecture which he delivered in our Gnadenhuetten Church, last June, much to the special satisfaction of his townspeople.

The next Centennial Anniversary, to mark the date of the organization of the Gnadenhuetten Moravian Congregation, one hundred years ago, comes in July, 1900.

Printed copies of the manuscript diary of the wedding journey of Ann Salome Heckewelder, who was married to Joseph Rice of Bethlehem, Northampton Co., Pennsylvania, September 29, 1808, here at Gnadenhuetten, were circulated among the guests free of charge.

THE REV. JOHN HECKEWELDER,

Born at Bedford, Eng., March 12, 1743; Died at Bethlehem, Pa., January 21, 1823, Aged 80 Years, Less 50 Days.

BY THE REV. WM. H. RICE,

VICE PRESIDENT MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY; LIFE MEMBER OF THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY; AND LIFE MEMBER OF THE OHIO ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

One hundred years ago to-day, September 29, 1898, Rev. John Heckewelder (then a man about fifty-five years old) moved into the "First House" of Gnadenhuetten, which he and his helpers had built on the east bank of the Muskingum (now Tuscarawas) River.

We are assembled within sight of the spot on which the "First House" stood, to celebrate with joyous thanksgiving the centennial anniversary of the founding of Gnadenhuetten as a settlement of whites.

Yonder monument was erected in 1872, on the site of the first Gnadenhuetten, founded in 1772, as a village settlement of Indian Christians, under the leadership of David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder. The monument commemorates the destruction of the village settlement, in fire and blood, on March 8, 1782.

For ten years it had been an oasis of Christian life and peace in the midst of savagery and war.

After an interval of sixteen years, in 1798, Heckewelder came back to rebuild the desolated home of the "Brown Brethren" as a settlement of whites. We have come together to-day, from near and from far, to make memorial of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of this second Gnadenhuetten under the leadership of John Heckewelder.

David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder are the two names which will always go together in the story of the work of the Moravian Brethren's church among the Indians of North America.

Heckewelder was twenty years younger than Zeisberger. He worked side by side with Zeisberger in all the years of missionary labor in the wilderness of northeastern and northwestern Pennsylvania and in Ohio, Michigan and Canada. They were like David and Jonathan in the labor and life of the Lord Jesus. When David Zeisberger grew too old, John Heckewelder took his place in the active leadership of the work.

The Zeisbergers and the Heckewelders were exiles from Moravia, who fled to Herrnhut, Saxony, across the mountain border, leaving behind their farms and their other possessions for conscience' sake.

The parents of Heckewelder were settled in Bedford, England, and were engaged in the work of the Moravian Church in that district when their oldest son, John, was born March 12, 1743. His father was Rev. David Heckewelder. Listen to the story of his boyhood in his English home as we hear it from his own pen:

"When yet I was quite a small boy, I was sent to our church-schools at Buttermere, and at Fulneck in Yorkshire. I can only remember in love all the kindness and the help given me by my teachers. Everybody was good to me.

"I was at Fulneck school when I remember that we celebrated such a happy Children's Day. It was one of our Prayer Days. Brother Watteville spoke to us. His words made some of us little boys feel as if we wanted to be missionaries. Three or four of the boys and I agreed with one another and the Savior that we would be missionaries.

"I was not quite eleven years old when my parents got ready to go to America, whither they had been called by the authorities of the Moravian Church. We walked to London. There we saw Count Zinzendorf and Bishop Spangenberg.

"They had a talk with every one of our ship's company before sailing. The Count said he wanted to have a talk with me. No one was present except Bishop Spangenberg. He asked me how I had gotten along in school. He said I ought to be thinking all the while of getting ready to preach, some day, the gospel among the heathen.

"The Count talked so kindly to me that I, in my fashion,

couldn't help telling him about our agreement, — the three or four boys and I,— at Fulneck school, after the Prayer Day.

"He then asked me whether I could speak German. He had been talking in English. I told him that I could understand German better than I could speak it. Then he laid his hand on my head and prayed in German for me, and gave me his blessing, as we knelt down together. I have always felt that this was my ordination to be a missionary.

"It was my birthday anniversary, March 12, 1754, when we set sail for New York in the ship The Irene, which belonged to the Moravian Church. Brother Nicholas Garrison was the captain.

"At New York we were the guests of the Moravian Brethren. The merchant, Brother Henry Van Vleck, was especially kind to us. The most of the ship's company waited in New York until the wagons sent on from Bethlehem (the Moravian settlement in eastern Pennsylvania, near the Jersey border) had arrived. I was one of those who started ahead on foot (a lad in his twelfth year).

"Bishop David Nitschmann was our guide. He carried me across the many creeks and rivers which we had to cross; there were no bridges.

"At Bethlehem I went to school until I was apprenticed to learn the cooper trade. I got very homesick in the little backwoods settlement. Nearly everybody spoke only German."

In March, 1762, young Heckewelder, just nineteen years old, eagerly accepted a call to start out on his first missionary journey. The famous missionary, Rev. Christian Frederick Post, had asked for the young man as his associate.

I hold in my hand this time-stained manuscript, — the original "Indenture of John Heckewelder, aged nineteen, to Christian Frederick Post, as an apprentice."

By the special favor of the cooper he was released from his apprenticeship, which had not yet expired. The object of this "Indenture" to Mr. Post was to protect the young man against any attempt that might be made, in the course of their missionary journeyings, to impress him into the Colonial military service. It served this purpose, on occasion, on their journeyings.

Young Heckewelder's apprenticeship to the indomitable Post was wonderfully providential in view of his future career as a missionary to the Indians. Here he learned well his first lesson of patient endurance, of unshrinking endeavor to face and to overcome the obstacles in the paths beset by gravest perils — paths which led to results that made for peace and for gospel triumph.

Their journey from Lititz in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, lay over the mountain ridge of southern Pennsylvania to Fort Pitt, and thence across the Allegheny and the Beaver Rivers to the Indian capital of Tuscarawas, on the Muskingum River. It stood near the present town of Bolivar, in Tuscarawas County. The journey took about four weeks. It was the eleventh of April, 1762, when the intrepid missionaries reached the cabin which Mr. Post had built on his visit and brief stay during the previous year. Heckewelder says that they started on their journey singing a hymn of praise. After almost incredible hardships and perils they entered the little cabin on the eastern bank of the Muskingum River singing a hymn of praise. Engaged in an undertaking the success of which was more than doubtful, God had safely led them all the way.

A new difficulty soon arose. The missionary, Post, had promised the Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania to act as his ambassador to the western Delaware Indians and to secure their consent to come on to Lancaster, in that province, for "a talk."

Mr. Post had also promised to escort them to Lancaster, if the Indians so desired it. The chiefs in question demanded his escort.

The understanding with the church authorities had been that young Heckewelder should come on with Post in the event of such an embassy.

After "the talk" at Lancaster both were to return to Tuscarawas. But for both to leave their station now involved the total failure of their missionary enterprise. It was quite plain that their Indian neighbors would not tolerate their return. To leave the station during the interval of the embassy's going to and from the Lancaster "talk" was equivalent to abandoning the entire enterprise. Naturally Mr. Post was unwilling to sacrifice

the position that had been gained at the cost of so much peril and suffering.

He felt equally unwilling to ask his youthful assistant to stay behind in the savage wilderness and alone to face the dangers and death that were so imminent. Heckewelder says: "He laid the whole matter before me, and at last we agreed that I should remain."

He tells the story of his decision in a very modest way. Where is the young man of nineteen who would have come to this decision? It bespeaks a heroism and a Christian devotion prophetic of his career of more than fifty years as a missionary amongst the Indians, and a right hand of help and direction to his white brethren in their intercourse with the red man.

After Mr. Post's departure for Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, Heckewelder, left to his own resources, addressed himself to the work of supplying the needful provisions. He cultivated a small garden patch. The passing traders stole almost all the vegetables as they ripened. The young Indians begged for the use of his canoe, which they soon lost by accident or design. He was thus cut off from fishing and shooting along the river. Fever soon laid its prostrating hand upon him. He nearly died from fever and starvation.

But for the friendly aid of his nearest neighbor, the trader Calhoun, who was living on the opposite bank of the river, he would have perished; but his courage never forsook him.

One day his white neighbor sent him word to call at once at his cabin. Heckewelder crossed over to be told that he was in danger of being murdered if he remained a day longer in his cabin. He was forbidden to return. A friendly Indian had sent the timely warning.

He now felt justified in taking the first opportunity for a return to Pittsburgh, for word had also come from the absent Missionary Post that his assistant should flee the perils of a longer stay. This finally determined Heckewelder. Time would fail to tell the experiences on his return journey, of the fever-smitten youth, of his almost miraculous escapes from the deadly dangers of the wilderness, and of the almost equally miraculous aid that came from some friendly hand, often just in the nick of time.

When Heckewelder reached Lancaster his friends at first failed to recognize the young man whom fever and the wilderness had so altered in appearance. Everybody was kind and hospitable to the young hero. He reached Bethlehem in December. His apprenticeship of nine months had been hard and full of peril. But it had only served to warm his heart with undying devotion to the calling of his first love. He was a born missionary.

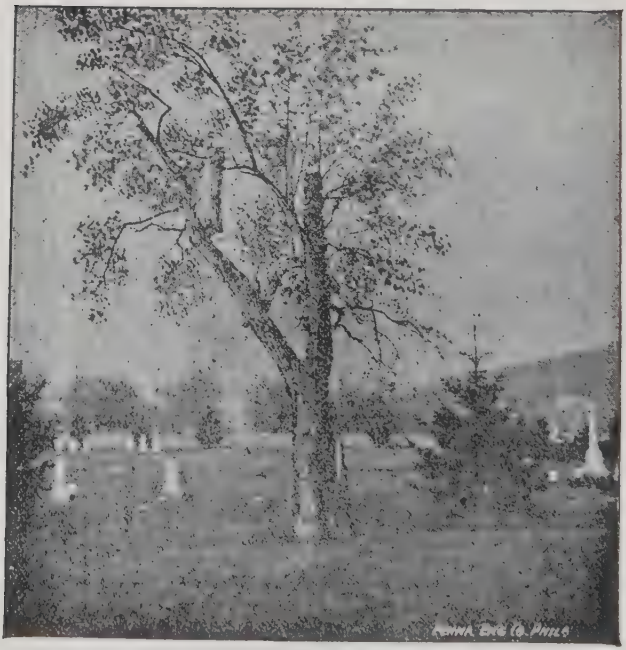
During the ensuing years of Indian troubles, in which the frontier settlements were laid waste, Heckewelder was constantly employed in lending a helping hand in all the intercourse between the Indian converts and the home church at Bethlehem.

In perils oft in the wilderness, he had various escapes from death, but he was putting in practice what he had learned of the eminent missionary with whom he had served his apprenticeship in 1762, Rev. Christian Frederick Post. Mr. Post was thirty-three years his senior. Born in Conitz, Polish Russia, in 1710, he came to America in 1742 as a member of the Moravian Church colony on board the ship "Catharine."

Heckewelder says of him: "He was a man of undaunted courage and enterprising spirit. He was well acquainted with the manner and customs of the Indians. The journeys which Mr. Post undertook were deemed rash and imprudent undertakings, but he was not dismayed. Moved by charity, he desired to be instrumental in putting a stop to murders and effusion of human blood. He considered himself under the protection of the Almighty and of the Author of the sermon on the mount, who had pronounced a blessing on all peacemakers. Entreaties intended to dissuade him from his undertakings had no effect. He consulted not with flesh and blood. Cheerful and undaunted he set out on his most perilous journeys. The fatigues which few men would be found able to undergo, Mr. Post bore with calm endurance."

In 1771 David Zeisberger asked that the Mission Board appoint John Heckewelder as his associate in the Indian mission work. The Board had decided to accept the invitation of the Grand Council of the Delaware Indians to send its missionaries to this Ohio territory, and to this valley, which then belonged to the Delaware Indians. Their great chief Netawatwes urged

FIRST MORAVIAN CHURCH IN GNADENHUETTEN.
DEDICATED JULY 10, 1803.



TREE PLANTED BY ZEISBERGER IN 1772. BLOWN DOWN JULY 16, 1889.

their coming upon Zeisberger on the occasion of his preliminary visit in 1771. As to the resultant action I quote from "David Zeisberger and his Brown Brethren": "In the valley of the Muskingum River, in what is now Tuscarawas County, near the 'Beautiful Spring' pointed out to them by Chief Netawatwes, who made them a grant of land in its immediate vicinity, the first settlement was begun by Zeisberger and Heckewelder in the spring of 1772. They gave it the name of Schönbrunn, the German for the Indian name which signified Beautiful Spring.

"In the course of a few years this grew into a cluster of Christian communities of converted Indians: Gnadenhuetten (Tents of Grace), Lichtenau (Sunlit Meadow), Salem and New Schönbrunn. Here were dwelling in peace and plenty hundreds of Indian converts and their families, and a corps of devoted missionary brethren and sisters who labored under the superintendency of Zeisberger.

"The material and spiritual prosperity of the remarkable cluster of Indian towns, in this valley of the Tuscarawas, excited the wondering admiration alike of the white man and the red man. Many came long distances to visit these habitations of peace and plenty, upon which rested the smile of God."

Upon this oasis of peace and plenty in the wilderness arose the dark cloud of the Revolutionary War. These flourishing settlements were about half way between the American and British frontier lines, with the American headquarters for all the western territory at Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh) and the British headquarters at Detroit. The Indian Christians and their white missionary leaders were helpless in the face of these bitter antagonists, and were open to assault from either side as the suspected favorer of the other. The Indian tribes were the objects of rival diplomacies and plottings, that they might be secured as allies of one of these hostile nations against the other.

During this troublous period John Heckewelder performed a deed of heroism which gives him a rank among the bravest of brave Americans. It was in the spring of the year 1778. In the summer of the preceding year, 1777, he had gone to eastern Pennsylvania on business for the mission. During the winter the British party amongst the Indians, under the lead of the

Wyandots and Mingoes, had laid plots to induce the Grand Council of the peaceful Delawares to take up arms against the Americans. In this intrigue they found active allies in the renegades McKee, Elliott and Simon Girty, who had left Pittsburgh as deserters to the British cause, and who now "propagated abominable falsehoods respecting the war and the situation of the people in the Atlantic States" amongst the Indians of this western territory. So well did they succeed in their intrigue that Chief White Eyes, who championed the cause of peace, could only persuade the Grand Council at Gotchachgünk (the Delaware capital stood in the site of Coshocton) to postpone the declaration of war against the American colonists for ten days longer.

John Heckewelder left Bethlehem, near the Jersey border in eastern Pennsylvania, on his return to the mission in this valley, in February. He reached Pittsburgh late in the month of March. On his way out he had conferred at York with Henry Laurens, the President of the Continental Congress, then in session at that place, and with General Horatio Gates, the Secretary of War. Both of these officials treated him with distinguished consideration, as a representative of the Moravian Church in its successful work among the Ohio Indians. Everything was done to express the official appreciation of the Government of the far-reaching influence which Heckewelder could exert in securing the peaceful neutrality of the Delaware nation in the crisis of the Revolutionary struggle.

On reaching Pittsburgh with his trusty companion, John Shabosh, he found that the general consternation in the minds of the people was shared by the military commander, Colonel Edward Hand and Colonel John Gibson. A general uprising of the western Indians could mean only one thing: the destruction of the defenses of the western border and the desolation of its settlements. Such a calamity at this crisis in the Revolution might effect the defeat of the colonies in their struggle for independence.

Everything now depended on securing a trusty ambassador to convey assurances of peace and friendship to the Grand Council of the Delaware nation at Coshocton. But the risk was

thought to be too great. For it was known that war parties were out, and every path beset by them.

I will let Heckewelder tell the story of that crisis. "The matter (of going to our mission in the Tuscarawas Valley) appearing to us of the greatest importance, we gave it due consideration during the night; the conclusion we reached was that, in our view it appeared clear, that the preservation of the Delaware nation and the existence of our mission depended on the nation's being at peace, and that a contrary course would tend to the total ruin of the whole mission: that were we at this time to neglect or to withdraw ourselves from performing a service, nay, a duty, in exposing the vile intentions of a depraved set of beings whose evil designs were but too well known, we must become accountable to our God.

"Therefore, with entire reliance on the strong hand of Providence, we determined to go at the hazard of our lives, or at least to make the attempt." How much like the intrepid Post appears the intrepid Heckewelder, who had served his apprenticeship in 1762.

"In the morning we made our resolution known to Colonels Hand and Gibson, whose best wishes we were assured of. We left our baggage behind. Turning a deaf ear to all entreaties of well-meaning friends who considered us lost if we went, we crossed the Allegheny River. We traveled day and night, only stopping to give our horses time to feed. We several times narrowly escaped falling in with war parties. We crossed the Big Beaver, which overflowed its banks, on a raft we had made of poles. Other large creeks in the way we swam with our horses. We never attempted to kindle a fire, being apprehensive of being discovered by the warriors smelling the smoke.

"On the third day we reached Gnadenhuetten at eleven o'clock at night. Fatigued as we were by our journey, without one hour of sound sleep in three days, I was requested by the inhabitants of the place, men and women, not to delay any time, but to proceed to Coshocton, nearly thirty miles distant. They declared that at the Delaware capital all was bustle and confusion and many were preparing to go off to fight the Americans as soon as the ten days had expired, of which to-morrow was the

ninth; that McKee and his base associates had announced that the American colonists were preparing at this time to enter upon a campaign of indiscriminate murder of all the Indians friendly or hostile.

"I consented after a few hours of rest and sleep, if furnished with a trusty companion and a fresh horse, to proceed on my way to Coshocton. Between three and four o'clock in the morning the National Assistant, John Martin, called me. We set out together, swimming our horses across the Muskingum River and taking a circuit through the woods to avoid the encampment of the Wyandot war party which was close to our path.

"By ten o'clock in the forenoon we arrived within sight of the capital. A few yells were given by a person who had discovered us, to notify the inhabitants that a white man was coming. This immediately drew the whole body of Indians into the street. Although I saluted them in passing them, not a single person returned the compliment. This my companion observed was no good omen. Even Chief White Eyes and the other chiefs, who always had befriended me, now stepped back when I reached out my hand to them. This strange conduct, however, did not dismay me. I was satisfied that the act of refusing me the hand had been done from policy, and not from any ill will towards my person. For I observed among the crowd some men, well known to me as spies of the war party, who were here to watch the action of these peace chiefs.

"Indeed in looking around I thought I could read joy in the countenances of many of them on seeing me among them at so critical a juncture.

"As no one would reach out his hand to me, I inquired the cause. Chief White Eyes, boldly stepping forward, replied: 'That by what had been told them by these men (McKee and party) they no longer had a single friend among the American people; if therefore this be so they must consider every white man who came to them from that side as an enemy, who came to deceive them and to put them off their guard for the purpose of giving the enemy an opportunity of taking them by surprise.' I replied that the imputation was unfounded, and that, were I not their friend, they never would have seen me here.

"'Then,' continued Chief White Eyes, 'you will tell us the truth with regard to what I state to you?' Having assured him of this, he asked me in a loud voice: 'Have the American armies been cut to pieces by the English troops? Is General Washington killed? Is there no more a Congress, and have the English hung some of them and taken the remainder to England to hang them there? Is the whole country beyond the mountains in the possession of the English, and are the few thousand Americans, who have escaped, now organizing themselves on this side of the mountains for killing all the Indians in this country, men and women and children?' I declared before the whole assembly that not one word of what he had just now told me was true. He, however, refused to take the friendly dispatches which I had brought with me. Accidentally catching the eye of the drummer, I called to him to beat the drum for the assembly to meet, to hear what their American brethren had to say to them. To Chief White Eyes' question: 'Shall we, my friends and relatives, listen once more to those who call us brethren?' there was a loud and unanimous affirmative. All quickly repaired to the Council House. All the dispatches were read and interpreted to them. White Eyes made an elaborate address. In it he specially noted that the American people had never yet called on the Indians to fight the English. From the beginning of the war to the present time they had always advised the Indians not to take up the hatchet against either side.

"A newspaper which contained the account of the capitulation of Burgoyne's army was found in the packet of dispatches. This Chief White Eyes unfolded and held up so that all could get a full view of it. 'See, my friends and relatives, this document containeth great events, not the song of a bird, but the truth.' Stepping up to me he gave me his hand, saying, 'You are welcome with us, brother.' Every one present followed his example."

Heckewelder now hurried on to the Lichtenau Mission station, two and a half miles below Coshocton, "to the inexpressible joy of Zeisberger," who was sitting by the fire, pale, emaciated, the image of despair. "He arose and greeted me thus: 'Ah! my dear John, are you here? You have come into the midst of the fire! If God does not work a miracle the Mission is at an

end! The Indians of Gnadenhuetten are on the point of fleeing hither for safety. But there is no safety here! Satan rules! One evil follows another! All Goschachgünk is preparing for war! What will become of the Mission? If the Delawares really go to war we are lost. I care not for myself, but Oh! my poor Indians!' "

Bursting into tears at sight of his faithful Heckewelder, who so unexpectedly stood before him, he listened to the story of that day's events in the Council House at Coshocton. God had wrought "a miracle!" And the heroic devotion of Heckewelder had been the instrument in God's hands by which it had been wrought.

To-day we dwell upon the heroism of Hobson and his comrades, who faced an almost certain death, in the forlorn hope that sailed into the very jaws of destruction, in Santiago Harbor; let us be quick to commemorate the bravery of Heckewelder and his comrades who rode through the wilderness of deadly danger with cheerful devotion, to compass the victory of peace. The historians of the deeds of that historic period may well pay tribute to Heckewelder as one of the men whose heroic bearing at this crisis helped to achieve our national independence.

No less conspicuous is the record of his work as a Gospel laborer. It may be said of John Heckewelder, as was said of one of old, "The Lord was with him and made all that he did to prosper in his hand." The record of the great revival at Lichtenau Mission station, when in his pastoral care in the winter of 1779-80, marks him as one of the Lord's anointed who are privileged to lead many souls into His kingdom.

Under date of Lichtenau, March 3, 1780, Heckewelder closes his report of the winter's revival thus:

"Now when I look at our Indian brethren and see the newly-baptized converts, the hymn comes to my mind, 'The Blood of Jesus.' For here in the persons of these heathen (and such heathen as the Indians are) who have been converted to Christ our Savior, we have before us a true and lasting pattern and example of what the Blood of the Crucified One can do for sinners.

"The next impulse of my heart is to cry, 'Glory and Honor

to Jesus our Lamb!' Where would any and all of us be, were there no Savior?

"I must add one thing more. We have noticed in the case of the stranger-Indians who visit us from a great distance during our festival seasons, that they were very attentive hearers during their visits. They started on their return home with great anxiety of mind and often with tears. We rejoice to think of the coming victory of grace in their hearts in the dear Lord's own time."

The troublous war times compelled them to give up the station of Lichtenau, and to move further up the valley. A new station was founded by Heckewelder at a point within a mile or two of the plot on which Port Washington now stands. He gave it the name of Salem. This was in the spring of 1780.

On July 4, 1780, he was married in the newly-built church at Salem, which had been erected under his superintendence. His bride was Miss Sarah Ohneberg, daughter of Rev. George and Susan Ohneberg, who were Moravian missionaries in the West Indies. (Heckewelder's parents died in the mission service in the West Indies before he had come of age.)

Miss Ohneberg came out from Bethlehem under the escort of the venerable Rev. Adam Grube. The others of the party were Rev. and Mrs. Gottlob Seuseman. Of the four hundred miles trip, the last one hundred miles from Pittsburgh were gone over under the escort of some Christian Indians sent from Gnadenhuetten to meet them. After this party of missionaries had left Pittsburgh, on their way through the wilderness, three American scouts fired on them. A bullet passed through the sleeve of the Indian who was leading Mr. Grube's horse.

Then at Salem, on April 6, 1781, their first child was born, Johanna Maria Heckewelder.

But the bursting of the gathering storm could not be long delayed. A little more than a year later, in September, 1781, came the fiery trial in which perished the fruits of many years of missionary toil and sacrifice.

Emissaries from the British headquarters at Detroit were sent to remove the missionaries and their wives and children from their Mission stations in this beautiful valley, with a view to a

"dispersion of the Christian Indians" and the "breaking up of their settlements."

One day Zeisberger and Heckewelder and their associate missionaries stood captives, almost naked, on yonder bank, exposed to the brutalities of blood-thirsty villains who only lacked the courage to murder their innocent victims, whom they had dragged from their homes at Schönbrunn and at Salem.

It is a harrowing tale — that of their journey through the wilderness to Upper Sandusky — these men, their wives and babes — afoot, driven with ruthless indifference, to their final encampment, in the desert wilderness, in what is now Wyandot County. They were abandoned by their captors to their fate. With little food for themselves and their cattle, barely clad, they would have perished from hunger and exposure but for the Indian women who supplied their urgent needs from their own scanty store of roots dug in the woods.

From their hastily constructed cabins, the Missionaries were summoned to leave their wives and little ones, and to appear in person before the British commandant at Detroit for trial, as supposed allies and spies in the American interest. In bleak November they made their way — Zeisberger, Heckewelder, Senseman, and Edwards — around the head of Lake Erie, along "roads such as we had never before seen." In John Heckewelder's experience of twenty years' traveling he had never seen the like: "the mud of the swamps," "our horses sometimes sinking belly-deep into the mire, which obliged us to cut strong poles to pry them out again," — "deep creeks across which we had to swim our horses," — "bleak prairies, the northwest wind blowing in our faces so that we could scarcely stand up against it, having but few clothes on our backs we would frequently drive our horses before us and walk, to preserve ourselves from perishing with cold," — through all this they had made their toilsome way when they came to a bleak point of land at the junction of the Detroit and Rouge rivers, in sight of the Fort, but unable to cross the deep strait. "They passed a dreadful night. Not a stick of wood was to be found to kindle a fire. They had "to move about the whole night to keep themselves alive."

Next day they entered Fort Detroit, carried across the river in friendly canoes. "It being by this time known in town that the Moravian Missionaries were come in as prisoners, curiosity drew the inhabitants of the place into the street to see what kind of people we were. The few clothes we had on our backs, and these tattered and torn, might have caused them to cast looks of contempt upon us. But we did not find this to be the case. We were viewed with commiseration. After standing for some time in the street opposite the dwelling of the commandant, we were brought in before him. Here, with empty stomachs, shivering with cold, worn down by the journey and not free from rheumatic pains, we staid until we had undergone a short examination." Added to all this suffering was their great mental anxiety "for our families suffering from hunger and exposure, to whom we were repeatedly told by the savage Indians we never would be permitted to return again."

The upshot of it all was that the commandant declared them acquitted of all charges laid against them, and "that he felt great satisfaction and pleasure in seeing our endeavors to civilize and christianize the Indians, and would cheerfully permit us to return again to our congregation."

I hold in my hand the original Passport which was given to Zeisberger and Heckewelder by the commandant. It bears date November, 1781, and is therefore nearly one hundred and seventeen years old. It bears the official signature of Arent Schuyler de Peyster, Major of the Royal Eighth Regiment and Commandant of Detroit and its Dependencies. It declares the Missionaries to be

> "permitted to perform the functions of their office among the Christian Indians without molestation."

Before they left the sympathetic hospitality of Fort Detroit they were clothed anew, and in addition thereto they were furnished with clothing and blankets and household utensils for their families. Provisions had also been sent on in advance, to their camp at Upper Sandusky. In eight days they were reunited with their families. "The joy," says Heckewelder, "on both sides was great."

What sort of winter these white and brown exiles from this fruitful valley, spent in their encampment at Upper Sandusky is best described in the words of the man who shared in their sufferings. Heckewelder says: "Not being much troubled by savage Indians for some time, we built a temporary Meeting House, of long poles placed upon each other, between posts.

"The crevices were filled with moss gathered from the trees, instead of mortar. But in what manner to get a supply of provisions, which we stood in need of, caused many anxious reflections.

"Although put to great straits for provisions, our Indian Brethren trusted in the Lord that he in due time would relieve them. That they had a place of worship and could daily hear the gospel preached was to them a great consolation, in these days of trial. And seeing that some who had lately come among us, called upon the Lord for mercy, and were baptized in his name, their hopes were enlivened that the Lord would continue to be gracious and merciful to them.

"Hitherto the Christian Indians had suffered most from a want of provisions. But now in the dead of winter, they also suffered severely from the cold.

"Towards the end of January (1782) the cold during the night became almost insupportable, the more so on account of the smallness of our huts. This did not permit the convenience of our having large fires made within them; and the wood was very scarce where we were. Our houses having no flooring, whenever a thaw came on, the water forced passages through the earth and entered in such quantities that we scarcely could keep our feet dry.

"The cattle finding no pasture in these dreary regions and we not being able to procure any for them, began to perish from hunger. As provisions for so many people could not be had, even for money, famine came. Many had no other alternative but to live on the carcasses of the starved cattle. Some babes perished from want of nourishment from their mother's impoverished breasts. The Missionaries reduced their own daily allowance of provisions for bread to a pint of Indian corn a day.

"Yet in this wretched situation the hungry (heathen) Wyandots would often come into our huts and see if there were any

victuals cooking or nearly cooked. At one time just as my wife had set down what was intended for our dinner, the Half-King and Simon Girty and a Wyandot entered my cabin and seeing the victuals ready, without ceremony began eating.

"The famine increasing daily — and the children crying for victuals, was more than the parents could endure. They could not afford to pay at the rate of a dollar for two or three quarts of corn, which was the price now asked (in our neighborhood) by those who held any. Therefore consulting with one another on measures to be taken for their relief, their deliberations closed with a resolution, to look to no other quarter for corn but to their forsaken towns."

My friends, put yourselves in the place of those Indian farmers. Here in their old homes the corn was still waiting to be harvested, — and their little ones were starving. It is a five or six days' journey to the old home. The report has come that "although the corn still stands in the fields unharvested, yet it is still good and unhurt."

Do you blame them, men and women with their children, for coming home again for bread for themselves and little ones!

Here, in yonder flats across the river, in the corn fields which their own hands had planted they had been working both by day and by night in gathering and husking corn, for several weeks." "On the day our Christian Indians were bundling up their packs, intending to set off on the next morning, a party of between one and two hundred white people from the Ohio settlements made their appearance at Gnadenhuetten."

We all know the story of that next day, that bloody Friday, March 8, 1782!

Listen what Heckewelder has to say of the more than ninety "Christian Indians murdered by the miscreants." "Five of the slain were respectable National Assistants or Elders (in the spiritual conduct of the Indian Church.) Of these Samuel Moore and Tobias had been members of the Missionary Brainerd's congregation in New Jersey, after whose death they joined the Christian Indians on the Susquehanna. Samuel had received his education from Mr. Brainerd. He could read well and understood the English language so well that he was for many years and until his

death an interpreter of the sermons preached. Tobias and Jonas led the life of true Christians. Isaac Glickhican — the converted war-chief — was a useful member of the church. How prudently he acted on all occasions and how ready and fearless he was in time of danger; how faithful to his teachers. Doubtless he would have risked his life for them if occasion had required it. Another of the five was John Martin, one of the Chapel interpreters at Gnadenhuetten, an exemplary and worthy man. Three of these five Elders of the Church were above sixty; the other two were about fifty years old. Many of the Brethren and Sisters who were murdered were born of Christian Indian parents who were members of the church in Pennsylvania, in 1763 and 1764. Here they were now murdered, together with their children. The loving children! who had so harmoniously raised their voices in the Chapel, at their schools and in their parents' houses, in singing praises to the Lord. Their tender years, innocent countenances and tears made no impression on these pretended white Christians. These children were all butchered with the rest."

Two weeks after the horrible massacre of these brown Christians, men, women and children, the account of it reached the exiled Missionaries who with their families were on their way to Fort Detroit, whither they had been suddenly summoned a second time by the British Commandant. The bearer of the melancholy message, says Heckewelder, was our Brother Joshua whose two promising daughters aged 15 and 18, were among the slain!

"We grieved much for such loving souls, and assembling on the occasion, prayed the Church Litany to be 'kept in everlasting fellowship with the church triumphant' and with our dear Brethren and Sisters and the children slain on the Muskingum; in the firm persuasion of again meeting together in the presence of our Redeemer."

The Moravian mission work — what there was left of it — was now to be carried on under the protection of the British flag. The Missionaries began a new settlement on the Clinton river, in what is now Macomb County, in the state of Michigan, on land granted them by the Chippewa Indians. The grant was to expire on the return of peace. The station was named New Gnaden-

huetten. Here was born the second child, to the Heckewelder parents, Anna Salome Heckewelder, August 13, 1784.

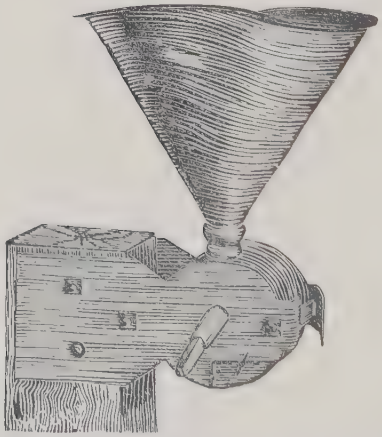
Soon after peace had been declared the American Congress granted a Reservation of lands and houses, in the Tuscarawas valley for the Christian Indians, in trust to the Moravian Church. This was the only consideration for the loss that had been sustained by the destruction of their settlements. The estimated pecuniary loss incurred by the ruin of the crops, harvested and unharvested; the loss of their horses and cattle; farming utensils, houses and household furnishings; books and manuscripts, was estimated, at the lowest, at twelve thousand dollars. This was a large sum of money for those times. This estimate fails to include the loss incurred by the destruction of precious human lives nor does it take account of the hardships and sufferings endured by the faithful men and women — the missionaries — who stood by their Indian converts with unflinching devotion.

Thus after five years of exile from this valley of the Tuscarawas they turn once more toward the old home. To rëoccupy their towns in this fruitful valley became now the dream of the Missionaries and their scattered converts.

Less than five years had gone since their forced removal from their homes here. But they had been years of untold suffering and trials. They broke up their settlement on the Clinton River, near Detroit, and started on their return journey in April, 1786. The Church diary tells what a record their converts had made among the trades-people of the Fort. "Our Indians left a good reputation behind them for all the merchants in Detroit report that they paid all their debts to the last penny. They said it could well enough be seen that our Indians were an honorable people, and better than all the people around Detroit who do not like to pay their debts. The merchants add thereto, that this was the fruit of the Missionaries' labors."

Like Israel of old they entered upon their wilderness wanderings with a view to reach this valley, their Land of Promise. His spirit and physical strength broken, Zeisberger, now sixty years old, leaned on his vigorous associate Heckewelder, who was now in his prime. It was a long and tedious and very severe journey which ended at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, where

MONUMENT IN MEMORY OF THE CHRISTIAN INDIANS.



FIRST HAND CORN MILL BROUGHT TO GNADENHUETTEN.

Cleveland now stands. They made their way along the lake-shore. They founded a settlement in what is now Independence Township of Cuyahoga County, some distance from the mouth of the river on its eastern bank.

Here, at Pilger-Ruh, the two missionaries who, since 1771, had stood by one another in all the joy and the sorrow, the blessing and privations of the past fifteen years, were separated. Heckewelder was compelled to remove his family to Pennsylvania. The strain of this last long and severe journey had broken down his faithful wife's health entirely.

But what seemed, at the time, a sore providence was overruled for the best interests of the mission work in all its varied relations. This separation of Heckewelder from the work of the mission stations opened to him a larger career as the practical field superintendent of the Indian mission work of the church. And with this came the unlooked-for opportunity and the unsought distinction in the public service of his country.

For this twofold service he possessed unrivalled fitness. He was in his prime. For twenty-five years past he had lived among the Indians of Pennsylvania and Ohio as a missionary. As the associate of Christian Frederick Post and David Zeisberger he had learned well the lesson of self-forgetful toil and loving devotion in behalf of the Brown Brethren. And in this period of transition and of the armed struggles in connection therewith, John Heckewelder came to be a person of exceptional qualifications to stand as a middle-man between his Brown Brethren and the American Government.

His influence for a peaceful and honorable adjustment of the difficulties was second to that of no other one man of that troublous period.

At the request of President Washington he consented to serve the United States Government as a commissioner, with General Rufus Putnam of Marietta, on an embassy to the hostile Indians in the Wabash River neighborhood. The long journey of over twenty-seven hundred miles from Bethlehem to the Post Vincennes, on the Wabash, and return, was eminently successful in its results. And this was due in no small measure to the missionary commissioner's part in the work.

Heckewelder carried out his commission in the face of innumerable perils. A very severe illness at one time threatened his life, but his manuscript record of this famous trip is written in a style as modest as his endurance of its fatigues and dangers was cheerful and undaunted. This was in 1792.

In the following year, in 1793, President Washington again solicited his acceptance of the commission of the Government as an ambassador to treat for peace with the warring Indian tribes of the northwestern territory. With Heckewelder on this embassy were General Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts, Timothy Pickering, Postmaster-General in Washington's cabinet, and former Governor Beverly Randolph of Virginia.

The commissioners traveled to Detroit by way of Albany and the Mohawk valley; they returned by way of the St. Lawrence River and Lake Champlain. To-day this is a summer route of many pleasure seekers. One hundred and five years ago it meant a pilgrimage through a wilderness beset with imminent dangers. In coming down Lake Champlain a storm arose during the night in which the boat which carried the commissioners and their assistants almost foundered. They had a very narrow escape from death.

These repeated engagements of Mr. Heckewelder, in the public service, in association with men of highest character and official station, are a striking tribute to the character and reputation of the man. They show how well this missionary superintendent stood in the esteem of the men of his day who were highest in the councils of the nation.

But his work in the public service also facilitated his work in the field superintendency of the mission. In 1797, the year after he had removed his family to Bethlehem, in eastern Pennsylvania, we find him at Pittsburgh. He escorted the missionary helpers, Michael Jung and John Weigand, to that point, from whence the two then proceeded to join the Pilger-Ruh pilgrims.

These latter were breaking up their settlement in order to transfer it to the valley of the Huron River, in what is now Milan Township, in Erie County.

In the next year, 1788, we see John Heckewelder at the newly established white settlement of Marietta, at the mouth of

the Muskingum. Here he meets, probably for the first time, General Rufus Putnam, — a name than which none is more illustrious in the history of Ohio. The object of this trip was to secure a survey of the Reservation voted by Congress. With him came from Pittsburgh the Surveyor-General, Captain Hutchins. His companion on the journey from the mission settlements in Lancaster County was Mathias Blickensderfer, a name of no little honor, in these later days, in this valley.

This first visit to the Marietta Colony laid the foundation of the mutual friendship and esteem which was maintained during all the subsequent years of intercourse. He came to be an intimate friend of General Putnam and his associates, both at Marietta and later at Cincinnati, then Fort Washington.

An article in the "American Journal of Science and Arts" of October, 1836, says in reference to this intercourse: "The men who founded the first Ohio Colony at Marietta carried with it the sciences and the arts. In the veins of its colonists ran some of the best blood of the country, and many of them were men of highly-cultivated minds and exalted intellect. Amid such society the pious and humane Heckewelder could not but pass time pleasantly. He was himself a man full of the milk of human kindness, a great lover of horticulture and all the beauties of nature. He was much devoted to the study of the natural sciences." The article adds this in allusion to Heckewelder's residence, at a later date, in the settlement the centennial of whose founding we are to-day celebrating: "He kept for many years at Gnadenhuetten a regular meteorological journal of the seasons, and of the flowerings of plants, etc., which was published in 'Dr. Barton's Medical Journal' of Philadelphia."

The proposed survey could not be made at that time because of the Indian war. After a nine weeks' stay at the infant settlement he returned to Bethlehem.

In the following year, 1789, Rev. John Heckewelder and Rev. Abraham Steiner travelled from Bethlehem, by way of Pittsburgh, to the New Salem station (also called Pettouotting, in Milan Township, Erie County) on the Huron River, one hundred and fifty miles from Pittsburgh. They arrived on May 20 and left June 1. Zeisberger writes in his diary:

"There came to us suddenly and in quite unexpected quickness Brother John Heckewelder and Abraham Steiner, by way of Pittsburgh. From that place they had had a tedious and difficult journey. They gave us joy by their letters and news from the (home) church. Their arrival was the more unexpected and pleasing from our knowing that the way was not quite safe from warriors and horse-thieves.

"(Friday, May 22.) Heckewelder held early service about this: That it is labor in vain to try to live a life well-pleasing to God and holy before the heart has been washed with Jesus' blood and forgiveness of sins has been received. (Wednesday, May 27.) Heckewelder held early service. The brethren were busy planting. Praise be to God that all is so quiet. (Sunday, May 31, Whitsuntide.) Brother Heckewelder preached from the gospel lesson: If any man love me he will keep my word, and my Father will love him and we will make our abode with him. He preached about the work of God, the Holy Ghost, to convince men of their unbelief and lead them to the Savior, our Redeemer, whom we have cost His blood, that thereby we should have forgiveness of sins, eternal life and salvation.

"In the second service four were buried in Jesus' death by Holy Baptism, namely, John Henry, Charles, Gottlob, Cornelia, by Brother Zeisberger, Heckewelder, Edwards, and Jung, a service accompanied by the near presence of the Holy Trinity."

"(Monday, June 1.) Brother Heckewelder held early service, took leave of the brethren and admonished them to abide by the Savior and His wounds; He would bless them and make them fruitful, and let them shine a light among the nations, and they would be a blessing."

Afterwards, in the afternoon, they set out for Pittsburgh with a great number of Indian Brethren, nearly the whole town going with them a part of the way. In referring to this visit, in a review of the year, in December, Zeisberger writes: "They made us heartily joyful by a visit of eleven days."

In less than two years after this visit the New Salem settlement was broken up, and once again the pilgrims became exiles under the British flag. The Indian hostilities in the spring of 1791 forced the missionaries a second time across the Canadian

frontier. On the Thames River, in Canada, the new station Fairfield was begun in May, 1792. This became the permanent home of the principal Indian mission of the Moravian Church. Zeisberger had just passed his seventy-seventh birthday anniversary when he led the "Indian Church in the wilderness" across the British border. At New Salem, during the four years of its occupancy, the spiritual prosperity of former days in this Tuscarawas valley seemed to be renewed. When he was forced to abandon the settlement he left behind, in God's acre, the bodies of some of his most eminent Indian elders. Here too was buried the body of faithful John Shabosh, who died aged sixty-eight.

In 1793, in June, at Fairfield station, this is the record of another Heckewelder visit. (Saturday, June 15.) "We had the unexpected pleasure of seeing Brother Heckewelder among us. By him we were heartily refreshed by letters and papers, from Europe and from Bethlehem, with the text-books. We had received nothing for longer than a year. On his way he had found some packages here and there, and had brought with him. We were comforted and revived. For we had believed that correspondence between the States and Canada had been stopped and that our letters were lost. (Sunday, June 16.) Brother Heckewelder preached about this, that the Savior came to seek and save the lost. (Monday, June 17.) Brother Heckewelder held the early service and spoke in the daily words: Declare His glory among the heathen, His marvellous works among all nations."

This was during the stay of the United States Commissioners, of whom John Heckewelder was one, at Detroit, to meet the Indians at the rapids of the Miami of the Lake. The Indian brethren who accompanied Brother Heckewelder on his return, brought back significant word to the effect "that in regard to the treaty to be held matters looked dubious, and that many lies had been spread to prevent it." This was a correct forecast of the upshot of these efforts to establish peace.

Under date of July 22, 1793, the Diary records: "From Detroit, by an Indian, we had letters from Brother Heckewelder from which we saw that Brant and fifty chiefs of different nations had gone from Miami to Niagra to speak with the United States

Commissioners there, and to ask them beforehand if they have full power to give up the land as far as the Ohio River. If not, then to prepare to go home again without coming to a treaty. (August 9.) We got a letter from Brother Heckewelder at the mouth of the Detroit River wherein he says that he and the (other) United States Commissioners are still detained there; that although they had been invited to a treaty and had come there from Niagra and were waiting, as there was yet doubt whether there would be a treaty."

The object was to meet the great body of the warriors assembled at the rapids of the Maumee face to face at a conference. Then it was hoped to adjust matters to the satisfaction of the Indians. But the British, by their agents on the ground, prevented this, much to the injury of the poor deluded Indians. All the endeavors of the commissioners to attain the so much wished for meeting were fruitless. By an insolent speech, that was brought to the commissioners as expressing the sentiments of the council of the savages, all hope of securing a conference with them vanished. The commissioners returned them a short answer:

"They reminded them of the pains the United States had taken to bring about a peace with them. But as they were inattentive to their own welfare and disappointed the United States they must abide the consequences. They must only blame themselves and their advisers for future events.

"The disappointment was a distressing one to us all. The poor savages some time after helped to pay dearly for having suffered themselves to be misled."

In his "Narrative" Heckewelder writes: "The savages continuing the murderous incursions into the frontier settlements of the United States, General Anthony Wayne, in August, 1794, marched an army into their country. On the twentieth of August he completely routed them in a general engagement at the rapids of the Maumee. Wayne's victory was the salutary means of bringing on a peace with them. On August 3, 1795, a treaty of peace was finally concluded with all the hostile nations."

At last the time had come to revisit the old home of the mission in this valley. In the spring of 1797 John Heckewelder

set out from Bethlehem for Gnadenhuetten. With him came William Henry and, as their associates, John Rothrock and Christian Clewell of Nazareth. From Wellsburg, on the Panhandle, they came to the site of Gnadenhuetten after a four days' journey. They arrived on the evening of the eleventh of May.

Heckewelder saw it after an interval of almost sixteen years. It was on the 11th of September, 1781, that he had left it a prisoner, to be led away with his fellow missionaries into the wilderness of northern Ohio. Remembering all the toils and turmoils of this intervening period, what must have been his feelings as his eyes rested upon the scene that presented itself. His associate, William Henry, thus described it: "We found the whole neighborhood covered with a deep, dry grass of an old standing to which on the day of our arrival (May 11) we set fire. We did this to defend ourselves in some degree against the numerous snakes and serpents which we found had taken possession. All the ground where the town stood is covered with briars, hazel, plum and thorn bushes, like a low, impenetrable forest, excepting where the paths of bears, deer, turkeys, and other wild creatures afford admittance. I was exceedingly affected while I walked over and contemplated the ruins of this once beautiful place."

The fire having cleared away the dense grass and underbrush, a clear view was afforded them of the ruins.

"Part of their chimneys appear in their rows. The place where our poor Indians were massacred is strongly marked. Part of their bones are yet to be seen amongst the coal and ashes."

"In the cellar of the house where part of the brethren were murdered they found nine of them. And in every direction the ground was covered with the bones of their cattle killed by their enemies."

Heckewelder immediately left for Marietta to secure the attendance and oversight of General Rufus Putnam, the Surveyor General, in the laying out of the "Three tracts of land, of four thousand acres each, circumjacent to the three towns of Schönbrunn, Gnadenhuetten and Salem." Congress had passed an Act, June 1, 1796, which President Adams approved, granting

these lands in trust for the benefit of the Christian Indians, to the Moravian Church. In his journey through the wilderness he had an Indian as his companion part of the way. General Putnam accompanied his friend back to Gnadenhuetten.

By July 4 the survey was completed. It was the work of almost a month. Heckewelder accompanied Putnam and his surveying staff on their return to Marietta to complete all the necessary legal formalities. William Henry and the others went home by the direct trail to Pittsburg.

Now, at last the way for the re-occupation of the old homes was quite open, and John Heckewelder traveled from Bethlehem to Fairfield to begin the work of re-occupying their homes.

But Zeisberger, the veteran, had come to those years when active labor in the mission work was almost beyond his strength. He had just been celebrating the seventy-seventh anniversary of his birth, when Heckewelder came on from Bethlehem, in May, 1798, to arrange for the return to the Tuscarawas Valley.

He writes (May): "We had the very especial joy of seeing come to us our dear brothers, John Heckewelder and Benjamin Mortimer, from Bethlehem by way of Niagra, through the Bush. They came so unexpectedly, for we had not thought of their coming before June or July, that we rejoiced the more, like children. And (the rejoicing) was on both sides. They too rejoiced, for they had come a very hard way."

I ask you to note the expression — "a very hard way" — for when these dear people, so heroic in all their endurance say a way was "very hard," you may be sure it was very hard.

"We refreshed ourselves by reading the letters and papers received. The Indian brethren all came to greet the Brothers Heckewelder and Mortimer. (Thursday, May 24,) We had a conference to read and consider the letters from the Mission Board. We resolved 1, That some Indian brothers should go with Brother John Heckewelder to the Muskingum; 2, That Brother William Edwards should go with them, to which he was glad and willing to accede; 3, That the Zeisbergers should follow them, with some Indian families, in June or July."

Preparations were made for an early departure and the Indian Brethren Nicholas, Leonard Renatus, Bartholimew, Chris-

tian Gottlieb, and Samuel were selected for the journey. Rev. John Heckewelder was fifty-four years old on the previous 12th of March. Rev. William Edwards was seventy-four years old on the previous 24th of April. He joined the Ohio Mission in 1776.

This company of pioneer settlers left Fairfield for Gnadenhuetten on May 31. The journey through the Bush took them almost three weeks. Heckewelder declared it to have been the most disagreeable and fatiguing of all the journeys which he had ever undertaken. They made their way over lakes and rivers, and through deep morasses; large stretches of the country through which they were compelled to travel, were rendered almost impassable by the great number of fallen trees. Numerous snakes infested their path. For miles at a time they were often forced to break their way through tangled vines of wild grapes and thickets of nettles five feet tall. In making their way through the dense undergrowth of a weed, thick and strong, resembling a file, their shoes and clothes were cut to pieces, and the skin torn from their bodies. Through all this, clouds of mosquitoes accompanied them, against whose sting they could make no defense.

My friends, this was a rough road to travel upon! Where among you is the veteran of seventy-four to keep up with the venerable Missionary Edwards, as he follows the lead of his more vigorous, but not more undaunted, younger associate, John Heckewelder!

At length they emerged upon the trail which soon brought them to the site of Salem, which Heckewelder had built in 1780. Here he was married in 1780. Here his first child — dear old Aunt Polly! God bless her memory! — was born. Do you wonder that the heroic leader forgot the fatigues of his distressful journey when his ears were greeted with the familiar songs of the many birds? He writes: "The whistling 'Bob-whites' seemed to call out, 'Come back again! Come back again!'"

When they got to Salem he encouraged his tired Indian comrades by telling them that if they pushed on noon would see them at Gnadenhuetten. And it came true as he had said. Swimming their horses across the Muskingum they reached

yonder eastern bank on the 19th of June. As they came through the bushes and under the overhanging trees, Heckewelder again says in his account of their arrival, the birds sang sweetly and cheerily their welcome. It was, he declares, as if they had been especially commissioned by our Heavenly Father to give us a tuneful welcome.

He found the cabin, erected the previous summer, during the surveying campaign, still standing and untouched, just as he had left it. As they entered it he looked up the "daily words" in his Moravian text-book. It seemed as if the dear Lord had meant it specially for them, so apt and comforting were these "Scripture words."

After some days the carpenters arrived from eastern Pennsylvania — the Colver brothers and Schmick. They at once proceeded to make preparations to begin the erection of a house. The "First House" was erected on the spot on the eastern bank, which we marked during the exercises of this morning with a Centennial Memorial stone. One hundred years ago to-day Heckewelder occupied the building.

On October 4, in the autumn, came David Zeisberger and thirty-six Christian Indians from Fairfield to begin a mission settlement in the old home. They came by way of Lake Erie and the Cuyahoga River. They crossed the short Portage and joyfully launched their canoes upon the waters of their loved Tuscarawas. Their journey was completed in fifty-one days.

Heckewelder at once arranged for the construction of a mission house as the residence of the venerable Zeisberger, on the plot which the latter selected for the new station. They called it Goshen. On the 13th of November, Zeisberger moved into his new home. At length this mighty servant of the Lord had come to his last resting station on earth. Here he lived and labored during the last years of his long and fruitful life. Here he entered the joy of his Master, November 17, 1808.

One of the special duties with which Heckewelder was charged during the twelve years succeeding the founding of Gnadenhuetten, was the care that Brother David and his wife and their Indian converts be made comfortable and their needs supplied. It was a privilege as well as a duty — and never did a

father show more thoughtful, loving, consideration for his household than did Brother John Heckewelder for his beloved Brother David Zeisberger.

And now just one more word, dear friends, as to the relation in which this man stood to the times, one hundred years ago, when the foundations of our commonwealth of Ohio were laid. All the historians of Ohio name John Heckewelder with Rufus Putnam, as one of the early founders of our imperial state. His transparent honesty of character, his kindness of heart, his devotion to duty, his readiness to reach out a helping hand; all this and much more that went to make up the man, John Heckewelder, caused the representatives of the Commonwealth to turn to him when they would fill offices of civic responsibility.

Up to the time of his final return to eastern Pennsylvania the man whose signature is found on the original parchment deeds of almost all the farms of this part of the Tuscarawas Valley filled the office of Postmaster and Justice of the Peace.

The Legislature of Ohio elected him the first man to fill the honorable position of Associate Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Tuscarawas county.

His personal influence moved the Legislature of Ohio to modify laws already enacted, which bore too hard upon the interests which Heckewelder represented. They believed his word because they had confidence in a man whose entire life had been spent in unstinted service of his fellow man. His works bespoke the man of integrity and unselfish devotion to the right.

Heckewelder was frequently appointed upon commissions charged, for instance, with such duties as the location of county seats, of the neighboring counties. So long as he was a resident of Ohio — from the time when he first lived in his cabin near Bolivar, in 1762, to the year 1810, the year of his final retiracy to Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, a period of almost fifty years, John Heckewelder tried to live the life of a manly man and do the work of a Christian brother and citizen. It is fitting that this great concourse of people should come to Gnadenhuetten, this Centennial Day, and do honor to his memory.

But before I close I must touch upon the literary labors which employed John Heckewelder during the last years of his

life. He lived to be almost eighty years of age. He died January 31, 1823. It was during the last thirteen years of his life that he devoted himself to important literary work.

The fruitful work and genuine character of this modest and true-hearted man, caused him to be sought after by the churchmen and the statesmen, the scholars and the scientists and literateurs of his time. He could not live in obscure retiracy.

The founders of the American Philosophical Society, Doctor Casper Wistar, and Peter Duponceau, sought him out and made him their associate in the literary undertakings of the society. At their earnest solicitation he prepared for publication his valuable book, an "Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States." It appeared in 1818, and was published under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society.

The general scientific interest taken in the work at the time of its publication is attested by the fact that it was at once translated into German and into French, and an edition was issued in each of these languages for the benefit of European scholars.

In this connection you will allow me to call your attention to this venerable, time-stained document bearing the date of the year 1794.

It is the engraved diploma written in the Russian language, constituting "Mr. John Heckewelder a member of the Free Economical Society for Encouraging Agriculture and Housekeeping in Russia, under the most high Protection of the Illustrious and most Mighty Lady, Catharine the Second, Empress and Sovereign of all the Russias," etc., etc., etc.

"They therefore by these Presents declare him as and for their Fellow Laborer and Partaker of all the Rights and Prerogatives granted to the Members of this Society, and in future to be enjoyed by them. (Seal.) Signed by President, Count d' Anhalt, Secret. periet. Andreas Van Wartow, Executive Counsellor of State and Knight of the Royal Danish Order of Danebrog."

It seems to me, my granger friends, there ought to be a

framed copy of this document hung up on the walls of every Grange meeting-room in Ohio. (A loud "Amen!")

In 1820, Father Heckewelder published his valuable book, "A Narrative of the Mission of the Moravian Brethren's Church Among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians, from 1740 to 1808."

His two books, together with his numberless Manuscript Journals and Diaries, including his Manuscript Life of David Zeisberger, have furnished invaluable materials to all later writers on the men and times of that early day. It furnished much of the material for the marvelous sketches of James Fenimore Cooper.

The following tribute, published in one of the foremost public journals in Philadelphia, at the time of his death in 1823, gives a fair estimate of the esteem in which he and his work were held by his cotemporaries.

"Probably with Mr. Heckewelder has died more critical and accurate knowledge of the Indian customs, history and language than is left behind him. But he did not hide his light nor conceal his knowledge. The public are indebted to him for several works of which we have before spoken which will do lasting honor to his name. These works will be of the highest utility to those who come after us, in obtaining a true knowledge of the Aborigines of the country. Science is also indebted to his researches.

"The character of Mr. Heckewelder was that of the patriarch. It may be justly said of him that he was in wit a man, in simplicity a child. He was free of access, full of anecdote, communicative and intelligent. His company was delightful to old and young, to the learned and unlearned. When we consider his untiring benevolence, his patience in enduring privations and fatigue, the motives that actuated him, the number and importance of his articles upon the Language, History and Customs of the Indians, he appears before us as an extraordinary man. He deserves to rank among the wisest and best of his generation, and as one of the benefactors of mankind."

Almost fifty years of Heckewelder's life were given to the active field service of the mission of the Moravian Church among the Indians. Almost forty of these years of service were spent,

for the most part, on the soil of Ohio territory. And we are commemorating to-day his founding, one hundred years ago, of Gnadenhuetten, one of the earliest settlements of whites in the state.

He died at Bethlehem, in eastern Pennsylvania, in 1823. His body lies in its honored grave-rest, among the graves of many witnesses for Jesus, and of many Indian converts. In the same God's Acre are buried the bodies of his wife and of his three children, Johanna Marie, Ann Salome and Susan, and many of their descendants.

A plain white stone, placed flat upon his grave marks the resting place of this heroic gospeller. On it is incribed his name, the place and the date of his birth and the date of his death.

John Heckewelder's name and work will be remembered in the literature of America for all time. In the annals of Ohio he will always be remembered and honored as one of the founders of the Commonwealth, whose helping hand was not withheld in the toilsome days when the foundations were laid upon which the superstructure of Ohio's prosperity and glory has been built.

My friends, when I began my address I took as my centennial text, "John Heckewelder," and I promised you that in all that I should be permitted to say I would try to stick to my text. I leave it to you whether I have fulfilled my promise. I thank you for the generous indulgence and patient interest with which you have received my words.

AN OUTING ON THE CONGO.

A Visit to the Site of Dunmore's Treaty with the Shawnees 1774.

BY WILLIAM H. SAFFORD.

Many of your readers are, doubtless, familiar with Stanley's expeditions in Africa, tracing the wendings of that hitherto unknown river of her western deserts, called the Congo. His first exploration was in search of Livingston, and the second of his voyages was for the purpose of locating that eminent and eccentric traveler, Emin Pasha, and thus to Stanley, as well as the civilized world, the expeditions were a revelation of a new terrestrial existence — rich in its treasures of silver and gold — its ivory and precious gems — its fertility of soil, and its wonderful variety of animal and vegetable life. It has already excited the cupidity of modern Europe, and eager nations are now earnestly struggling for its dominion.

But it is not of this Congo we write. There is another stream of much less pretentiousness in the volume of its waters, but far more classic in its associations, and richer, by far, in thrilling historical incident. This Congo we now sketch, does not aspire to the dignity of a river, nor even a creek; it is what would be called in New England a *brook*, and in the South a *run*. It does not rush from precipitous heights dashing its waves against rocks and cliffs, but gently meanders along low lying meadows, through quiet landscapes, lazily floating onward to the Scioto, and thence to the ocean.

Few, indeed, of this generation have known, or even heard of this classic water; and yet, it is but an hour's ride from the historic city of Ohio — its "Ancient Metropolis," Chillicothe. We pass over smoothly gravelled roads, along cultivated fields and ornamental gardens, by spacious mansions of classic architectural taste, until nearly approaching the Pickaway Plains. The

stream stretches along the southern side of this plateau, in what might be termed the uplands, and is fed by the numerous springs along its course and the surface drainage of the lands through which it flows.

On a beautiful day in the month of May, 1894, the writer, with a professional photographer, made an outing to this historic stream, the object being to secure photographic views of some of the more noted localities, rendered famous from the events which there transpired in the early history of the country. Chief among these is the famed *Logan Elm*, under which, it is said, Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, concluded a treaty of peace with the confederated tribes of the Shawnees, and other Indians, on which occasion the classic speech of the Mingo chief, Logan, is said to have been delivered. This was in the autumn of the year 1774, immediately after the battle of Point Pleasant, Virginia, at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. It was, perhaps, the longest continued and most hotly contested conflict in the annals of Indian warfare. The fatalities were appalling on both sides. More than one thousand of the allied savages, under command of the noted warrior, Cornstalk, were opposed to about an equal number of Virginians under General Andrew Lewis. The battle commenced at sunrise on the morning of the tenth of October, 1774, and lasted till darkness closed the scene. The losses by the Virginians were two colonels, five captains, three lieutenants, and many subalterns, beside seventy-five privates; while that of the Indians was computed at two hundred and thirty-three. Under cover of darkness Cornstalk withdrew his forces, recrossed the Ohio in haste, and retreated to his towns in the Pickaway Plains.

The engagement of the forces of General Lewis was a surprise — he was not anticipating an attack, and had made no preparations for defence. He was looking to the Pickaway towns as the scene of the intended conflict, and rested in ignorant security that his foe was alike unsuspecting. But in this, as it proved, he was fatally mistaken. The vigilance of his scouts had long since advised Cornstalk of Lewis's advance and gave him timely warning of the approach of his enemies. He hurriedly collected his forces and resolved to meet the Virginians on their

THE EARL OF DUNMORE.

THE LAST COLONIAL GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

From a very fine portrait in the State Library Gallery at Richmond, Va.

[From the address of Judge J. H. Anderson, of Columbus, before five or six thousand people on the banks of the Tymochtee, near Crawford's monument, in Crawford township, Wyandot county, Ohio. Published by The Ohio Historical Society, by permission of the author.]

own soil. When Lewis had arrived at the appointed rendezvous with Dunmore, Cornstalk was already there to meet him.

"Calm as the breeze, but terrible as the storm." The plan of the campaign, previously agreed upon between General Lewis and Lord Dunmore, was, that Lewis was to descend the Kanawha to its junction with the Ohio, and if not already there, then await the arrival of Dunmore. The Earl was to march his forces of one thousand men up the Potomac to Cumberland, cross the Alleghenies, until he struck the Monongahela, thence, following that stream downward, reach Fort Pitt, and thence descend the Ohio to Point Pleasant and form a junction with Lewis. This was the original plan of operation.

On the first of October, 1774, Lewis reached the mouth of the Kanawha, but Dunmore had not arrived. He dispatched two messengers to Dunmore to enquire the cause of his delay, and awaited a reply. On the ninth of October, three messengers from the Earl arrived at Lewis's camp and informed him that the Governor had changed his plans, that he would not meet Lewis at the Point, but would descend the Ohio to the mouth of the Hockhocking river, ascend that stream to the Falls, and thence strike off to the Pickaway towns along the Scioto, whither he ordered Lewis to repair and meet him as soon as possible, there to end the campaign.

This information as to the change of the plan reached Lewis on the ninth of the month. It is evident that Cornstalk had received like intelligence of such change, for, on the morning of the tenth, he struck his unsuspecting foe with a staggering blow hitherto unprecedented in savage warfare.

"For several days after the battle Lewis was busy burying the dead, caring for the wounded, collecting the scattered cattle, and building a storehouse and a small stockade fort. Early on the morning of the thirteenth of October messengers who had been sent on to Dunmore advising him of the battle returned with orders to Lewis to march at once with all of his available forces against the Shawnee towns, and when within twenty-five miles of Chillicothe to write to his lordship. The next day the last rear guard, with the remaining beeves, arrived from the mouth of the Elk, and while work on the defences at the Point was hurried,

preparations were made for the march. By evening of the seventeenth Lewis, with fifteen hundred men in good condition, had crossed the Ohio and gone into camp on the north side. Each man had ten days' supply of flour, a half pound of powder, and a pound and a half of bullets; while to each company was assigned a pack-horse for the tents. Point Pleasant was left in command of Colonel Fleming, who had been severely wounded in the battle, and with whom three other officers and one hundred and fifty disabled men remained. On the eighteenth Lewis, with Captain Arbuckle as guide, advanced towards the Shawnee towns, eighty miles distant in a straight line, and probably one hundred and fifty miles by the circuitous Indian trails. The army marched about eleven miles a day, frequently seeing hostile parties, but engaging none. Reaching the salt licks near the head of the south branch of Salt Creek in what is now Jackson County, they descended that valley to the Scioto, and thence to a prairie on Kinnikinnick Creek, where was the freshly deserted village of one of the tribes. This was thirteen miles south of Chillicothe (now Westfall). Here they were met, early on the twenty-fourth, by a messenger from Dunmore, ordering them to halt, as a treaty was nearly concluded at Camp Charlotte. But Lewis's army had been fired on that morning and the place was untenable for a camp in a hostile country, so he concluded to seek a more desirable situation. A few hours later another messenger came, again promptly ordering a halt, as the Shawnees had practically come to terms. Lewis now determined to join the northern division in force at Camp Charlotte, not liking to have the two armies separated in the face of a treacherous enemy; but his guide mistook the trail and took one leading directly to the Grandier Squaw's Town. Lewis encamped that night on the west side of Congo Creek, two miles above its mouth, and five and a quarter miles from old Chillicothe, with the Indian town half way between. The Shawnees were now greatly alarmed and angered, and Dunmore himself, accompanied by the Delaware chief, White Eyes, a trader, John Gibson, and fifty volunteers, rode over in hot haste that evening to stop Lewis and reprimand him. His lordship was mollified by Lewis's explanations, but the latter's men, and indeed Dunmore's, were furious over being stopped when within sight

of their hated quarry; and tradition has it that it was necessary to treble the guards during the night to prevent Dunmore and White Eyes from being killed. The following morning (the twenty-fifth) his lordship met and courteously thanked Lewis's men for their valiant service; but said, that now the Shawnees had acceded to his wishes, the further presence of the southern division might engender bad blood. Thus dismissed, Lewis led his army back to Point Pleasant."*

On his arrival at the Indian villages, as security against an attack of the enemy, Dunmore caused a square of about two acres, near Sippo, and in close proximity to Congo, to be enclosed with a palisade, in the center of which was erected a block-house to be used for headquarters. The whole formed a temporary barrier against any hostile force which might oppose him. This he named Camp Charlotte, in honor of the young reigning Queen of England, whose husband's commission, as Governor of Virginia, he bore. About two and a half miles west of Camp Charlotte Lewis encamped his forces, which locality has since been known as Camp Lewis. The latter encampment was on the lands since entered and settled by Major John Boggs in 1798, embracing or near the famous *Logan Elm* on the banks of the Congo. It has since passed out of the possession of Major Boggs' descendants, and is now owned by Mrs. Mary A. Wallace, widow of the late Samuel S. Wallace, an attorney of Chillicothe.

The former is situated on the lands originally entered and settled upon by the late George Wolfe, and is yet in the possession of his grandson, Benjamin F. Wolfe. These encampments have been often confounded with each other.

History is rich in incidents which occurred on the banks of the Sippo and the Congo. They are both small streams situate but a short distance apart, the former entering the latter about two miles from its confluence with the Scioto.

The troops of Dunmore and Lewis united numbered two thousand five hundred officers and men. Their formidable presence, planted at the very gates of their hunting grounds, and at the doors of their villages, spread consternation and alarm

* R. G. Thwaite's Note in Border Warfare 176–7.

LOGAN ELM.

View looking south; Congo in foreground; in the distance, under its branches, stands the cabin erected by Captain John Boggs in 1798.

among these savage inhabitants. Their voices were now for peace — peace on almost any terms. Cornstalk was a noble warrior — full of courage, and at the same time full of soul. At the battle of Point Pleasant he commanded his Indian forces with consummate skill, and at any time his warriors were believed to waver his voice could be heard above the din of battle exclaiming in his native tongue: "Be brave! Be brave!" — "Be strong! Be strong!" When he returned to the Pickaway towns he called a council of the nation to consult as to what should now be done and upbraided them for not permitting him to make peace, as he had desired on the night of the battle. "What," said he, "will you do now? The big knife is coming on us, and we shall all be killed. Now you must fight, or we are done." But no one answering, he said: "Then let us kill all our women and children and go and fight until we die." No answer still having been made, he indignantly arose, struck his tomahawk in a post of the council house and exclaimed: "*I'll* go and make peace," to which all warriors grunted "Ough!" "Ough!" and runners were instantly dispatched to Dunmore to solicit peace.

Dunmore was met, even before he reached the Indian villages, by a messenger (a white man) from Cornstalk, anxious for an accommodation. The messenger was returned, accompanied by John Gibson and Simon Girty — the latter was then a scout for Dunmore and had not then commenced his notorious renegade career. The two soon brought back an answer from the Shawnees expressing a desire for peace. A council of the principal chiefs were then assembled under the wide-spreading branches of the famed Elm Tree. Messengers were dispatched for the famous Mingo chief Logan, whose residence, we have mentioned, was at Old Chillicothe, about two miles distant on the west side of the Scioto. But Logan, like Achilles, sulked in his tent — he refused to attend. "Two or three days before the signing of the treaty," says an eye witness, "when I was on the out guard, Simon Girty, who was passing by, stopped me and conversed; he said he 'was going after Logan, but he did not like his business, for he was a surly fellow.' He, however, proceeded on, and I saw him return on the day of the treaty, and Logan was not with him. At this time a circle was formed

LOGAN ELM.

View looking north, with monument standing on the spot where the cabin once stood, erected by John Boggs, grandson of Captain Boggs.

and the treaty begun. I saw John Gibson, on Girty's arrival, get up and go out of the circle and talk with Girty, after which he, Gibson, went into a tent, and soon after, returning into the circle, drew out of his pocket a piece of clean paper, on which was written, in his own hand writing, a speech for, and in the name of Logan. Girty from recollection translated the speech to Gibson, and the latter put it into excellent English, as he was abundantly capable of doing."

This speech was first brought into public notoriety by President Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia. Its publication, by him, produced an embittered controversy as to the genuineness of the production — principally on the part of the family and friends of Major Michael Cresap, whose name had been assailed, in that Major Cresap was therein charged with having, in cold blood, murdered Logan's family. Mr. Jefferson having been accused of the sole authorship of the speech, was compelled, in vindication, to furnish a statement of the facts occasioning its publication. In this he says:

"The notes on Virginia were written in the year 1781 and 1788, in answer to certain queries proposed to me by Mons. De Marbois, then Secretary of the French Legation in the United States; and a manuscript copy was delivered to him. A few copies, with some additions, were afterwards, in 1784, printed in Paris, and given to particular friends. In speaking of the animals of America, the theory of M. de Buffon, Abbe Raynal, and others presented itself to consideration. They have supposed there is something in the soil, climate and other circumstances of America which occasions animal nature to degenerate, not excepting even the man, native, or adoptive, physical or moral. This theory, so unfounded and degrading to one-third of the globe, was called to the bar of fact and reason. Among other proofs adduced in contradiction of this hypothesis, the speech of Logan, an Indian chief, delivered to Lord Dunmore in 1774, was produced as a specimen of the talents of the aboriginals of this country, and particularly of their eloquence; and it was believed that Europe had never produced anything superior to this morsel of eloquence. In order to make it intelligible to the reader, the transaction on which it was founded was stated as it had been

generally related in America at the time and as I had heard it myself in the circle of Lord Dunmore and the officers who accompanied him; and the speech itself was given as it had, ten years before the printing of that book, circulated in the newspapers through all the then colonies — through the magazines of Great Britain, and the periodical publications of Europe. For three and twenty years it passed uncontradicted; nor was it ever suspected that it even admitted contradiction. In 1797, however, for the first time, not only the whole transaction respecting Logan was affirmed in public papers to be false, but the speech itself suggested to be a forgery, and even a forgery of mine, to aid me in proving that the man of America was equal in body and mind to the man of Europe. But wherefore the forgery? Whether Logan's or mine, it still would have been American. I should, indeed, consult my own fame, if the suggestion that this speech is mine were suffered to be believed. He would have a just right to be proud who could, with truth, claim that composition. But it is none of mine, and I yield it to whom it is due.

"On seeing then, that this transaction was brought into question, I thought it my duty to make particular enquiry into its foundation. It was more my duty, as it was alleged that, by ascribing to an individual therein named a participation in the murder of Logan's family, I had done an injury to his character which it had not deserved."

Mr. Jefferson, after a voluminous correspondence with, and numerous affidavits of, officers and men of Lord Dunmore's forces, very clearly established the genuineness of Logan's speech, but has left in some doubt the question as to whether Logan's family were murdered by Major Michael Cresap or Greathouse, a subaltern under his command. Nevertheless, Logan confidently believed Cresap to have been the author. Among the numerous affidavits procured by Mr. Jefferson was one of Captain John Gibson himself, who interpreted the speech; and as his account of the transaction differs from that of "An Eye Witness," we give his version of it. He relates that, having delivered to Logan the message of Dunmore at Old Chillicothe, Logan refused to attend the council. But, at the chief's request, they went into an adjoining wood and sat down. Here, after shedding

abundance of tears, the honored chief told his pathetic story. Gibson repeated it to the council on the Congo and it was caused to be published in the *Virginia Gazette* of that year. We transcribe it as it then appeared.

LOGAN'S SPEECH.

"I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and I gave him not meat; if ever he came cold or naked, and I gave him not clothing.

"During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained in his tent, an advocate for peace. Nay, such was my love for the whites, that those of my country pointed at me as they passed and said, 'Logan is the friend of the white man.' I had even thought to have lived among you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, cut off all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any human creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. Yet, do not harbor the thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

"I may challenge," says Mr. Jefferson, "the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished more eminent, to produce a single passage superior to the speech of Logan, a Mingo chief, to Lord Dunmore.

The famed *Logan Elm*, given in the view, is also known as the *Treaty Tree*. The speech of Logan is erroneously supposed to have been extemporized in person to the council assembled beneath its branches. But such was not the fact. It was communicated to Gibson in his Indian vernacular, and by Gibson interpreted to Dunmore at the meeting of the council. The tree is still standing and in the same vigorous condition it was when it sheltered the combined representatives of the hostile forces. The storms of an hundred and twenty years have failed to leave their impress upon it, and it yet stands as monarch of the woods and a lasting memorial of the event which it commemorates.

NEAR VIEW OF THE BOGGS MONUMENT LOOKING NORTHWEST.

In one of the views presented, Congo's placid stream is faintly seen flowing in the foreground, while at some two hundred feet from the body of the elm may be observed the remains of the once famous Boggs Cabin. In the second view is shown, from an opposite standpoint, the imposing Boggs monument, now occupying the spot where the cabin once stood. It is an elegant and costly memorial, commemorative of the family and the events which there transpired, affording a brief but vivid history of those who were reared under the wide-spreading branches, and disported their youthful exuberance beneath the famed Elm.

Its dimensions, by actual measurements, are seventy feet in hight; the spread of its branches, in diameter, one hundred and twenty feet, and the girth of its body twenty feet.

The monument seen in the rising ground, measured by estimation only, is, at its base, ten feet square; hight of base, six feet; hight of shaft, fifteen feet; and square of shaft, at base, five feet, tapering to three at the top.

It bears the following inscriptions and memorials on its several sides as follows:

NORTH SIDE.

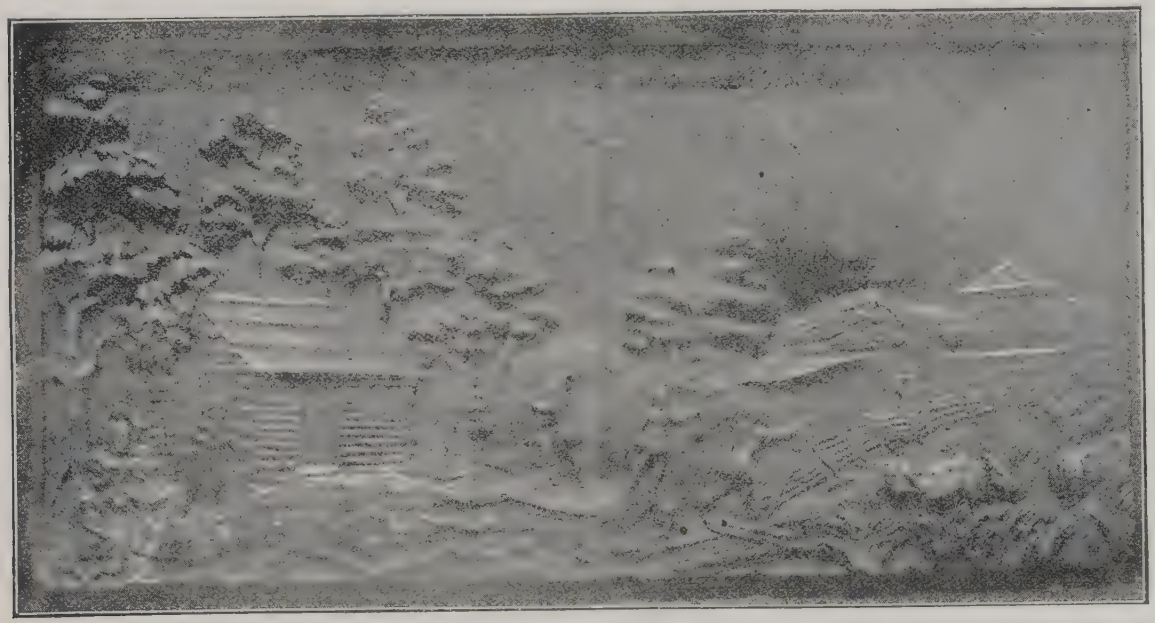
Under the spreading branches of a magnificent elm tree near by, is where Logan, the Mingo chief, made his celebrated speech, and where Lord Dunmore concluded his treaty with the Indians, in 1774, and thereby opened this country for the settlement of our forefathers.

SOUTH SIDE.

Erected by John Boggs to the memory of his grandfather, and father — soldier, scout and pioneer.

WEST SIDE.

Major John Boggs, born near Wheeling, Virginia, 1775. Moved to Ohio with his father, 1789. Married Sarah McMechan, 1800. Raised eight children, all born in a cabin that stood on this spot. His wife, Sarah, died 1851. He died 1863.



BRONZE PLATE ON MONUMENT.

Illustrating the capture of William Boggs, son of Captain John Boggs—figures and surroundings in bas-relief.

EAST SIDE.

Captain John Boggs, born in Western Pennsylvania, 1738. Married Jane Irwin and raised a large family on the frontier, near Wheeling, W. Va.

"One son, William, was taken prisoner by the Indians in view of his father's cabin, which is here represented. Another, James, was killed by them near Cambridge, Ohio. Immigrated to Ohio, and built his cabin on this spot 1789 and died 1820."

The representation of the capture of William by the Indians, mentioned in the inscription, is one of the most exquisite specimens of mural art anywhere to be found on any private monument. It is a bronzed tablet, two feet six, by fourteen inches, inserted in the granite base. The picture of the capture is executed in bas relief, and of high relief, the figures one-half to one inch high. It represents a beautiful landscape intended to be, and is, almost an exact representation of the cabin and its surroundings. In the left-hand corner is the log cabin, at the corner of which stands the figure of a white man with his gun at his shoulder and his eye peering along the barrel. The wife and children stand secreted behind the cabin. Obliquely to the left, and fronting the door, stands an Indian in anxious expectancy. At the right of the man is a waving field of grain surrounded by a rail fence — commonly designated a Virginia worm fence. Several panels have been thrown down, and a herd of cattle are feeding on the growing grain. Near the fence is seen a boy in flight up a slight ascent, making his way to a palisade on the crest of the ridge. After him is a band of several Indians in hot pursuit. The whole scene is a thrilling and vivid representation of the scene that on that spot once actually occurred. It needs no interpreter; it conveys, at once, to the understanding what is then and there being enacted. The stealthy savages, under cover of darkness, have laid down the fence and turned the cattle upon the growing grain; secreted in ambush they patiently await approaching day, anticipating the events to occur in the morning. The results showed their strategy complete, their decoy successful. The boy, awakening at sunrise, views the desolating scene, and, unsuspecting the authors of the mischief, impulsively rushes after the de-

stroying herd. Suddenly his course is interrupted by the terrible apparition of a hostile foe that rises before him. He turns and retreats towards the cabin, but there too appears another of the band to intercept his entrance. No hope of escape now presents itself save that of reaching the palisade on the ridge in the distance. He turns and with accelerated speed vainly endeavors to reach the goal. His course is beset with increasing pursuers on all sides, and at length, exhausted by the effort, he is overtaken and made captive to Indian strategy and Indian cunning. Meanwhile his anxious father stands sentinel at the cabin's corner, guarding the family from the intruding savage in the front, while the receding form of his son, pursued by a hostile force, appalls his agonized soul.

Such is here depicted the memorable scenes of our forefathers, preserved in imperishable bronze and granite, where future generations may pause and read the story of their sacrifices and their sufferings while marking out the path of Empire.

As we stand before this consecrated record, sublime reveries and holy reflections crowd upon our mind and extort the sigh of sadness which a scene like this inspires. In the cycles of the centuries three generations have played their parts on this tragic stage of human life. Men and women, savage and civilized, have been in succession gathered to the shades of their fathers. Our feet, even now, press the sward above their graves, where now, in silence, side by side, and crumbling to decay, lie the bones of the red warrior, who once roamed these forests, and his ancient foe, the white man.

How apt to this place — this hour — this scene recur the words of the immortal bard Bryant.

A WALK AT SUNSET.

"Then came the hunter's tribes, and thou didst look,
For ages, on their deeds in the hard chase,
And well fought wars; green sod and silver brook
Took the first stain of blood: before thy face
The warrior generations came and passed,
And glory was laid up for many an age to last.

"Now they are gone, gone as thy setting blaze
Goes down the west, while night is pressing on
And with them, the old tale of better days,
And trophies of remembered power, are gone.
Yon field that gives the harvest, where the plough
Strikes the white bone, is all that tells their story now.

"I stand upon their ashes, in thy beam,
The offspring of another race, I stand
Beside a stream they loved, this valley stream;
And where the night-fire of the quivered band
Showed the gray elm by fits and war-song sung
I teach the quiet shades the strains of this new tongue.

"Farewell! but thou shalt come again — thy light
Must shine on other changes, and behold
The place of the thronged city, still as night —
States fallen — new empires built upon the old —
But never shalt thou see these realms again
Darkened by boundless groves, and roamed by savage men."